

WOMEN TEACHERS
Ed of Wren

The Working Conditions and Careers of KwaZulu-Natal Women Teachers

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of Doctor of Education in the School of Educational Studies at the
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DEDICATION

*This work is fondly dedicated to my
wife, Valerie*

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I do hereby declare that the whole of this dissertation represents my own work in conception and execution and all the sources I have used have been acknowledged by means of references. This dissertation has not been submitted previously for any degree at any university.

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GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	: American Board Mission
APEK	: Association of Professional Educators of KwaZulu-Natal
BEJ	: Bantu Education Journal
BTJ	: Bantu Teacher's Journal
CSE	: Certificate of Secondary Education
CSMBA	: Civil Service Medical Aid Association
CSWB	: Central Soviet Welfare Board
DEIC	: Dutch East India Company
DEPT	: Department
DGHS	: Durban Girl's High School
DIE	: Division of International Education
DOE	: Director of Education or Department of Education
DR	: Doctor
DRC	: Dutch Reformed Church
ETC	: Elementary Teacher's Certificate
FRM	: Feminist Research Methodology/Methods
GCE	: General Certificate of Education
GCE	: Government Gazette Extraordinary
GOVT	: Government
GR	: Grade
GSPF	: Government Service Pension Fund
GSWPF	: Government Service Pension Fund
HDE	: Higher Diploma In Education
HOD	: Head of Department
HOR	: House of Representatives
HPTC	: Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate
HPTC	: Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate
HSRC	: Human Science Research Council
IISB	: Indian Immigration School Board
JC	: Junior Certificate
JP	: Junior Primary
JS	: Junior Secondary
JSTD	: Junior Secondary Teacher's Diploma
JTC	: Junior Teachers Certificate
KZN	: KwaZulu-Natal
KZNDEC	: KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education And Culture
LEA	: Local Education Authority
LP	: Lower Primary
LPTC	: Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate

MCC	: Middle Class Certificate
NCG	: Natal Colonial Government
NCG	: Natal Colonial Govt
NED	: Natal Education Department
NGG	: Natal Government Gazette
NPA	: Natal Provincial Administration
NPG	: Natal Provincial Gazette
NPSTA	: Natal Primary School Teacher's Association
NRG	: Natal Responsible Govt
NTD	: Natal Teachers Diploma
NTJ	: Native Teachers Journal
NTPF	: Natal Teachers Pension Fund
NTS	: Natal Teachers Society
NTSBF	: Natal Teachers Society Benevolent Fund
NTSC	: Natal Teachers Senior Certificate
NTSD	: Natal Teachers Senior Diploma
NUC	: Natal University College
OBE	: Outcomes Based Education
PGHS	: Pietermaritzburg Girl's High School
PSMAA	: Public Service Medical Aid Association
PTC	: Primary Teacher's Certificate
PTD	: Primary Teacher's Diploma
R & R	: Retrenchment & Redeployment
RCV	: Reverend
RG	: Republican Govt
RSA	: Republic of South Africa
SA	: South Africa(n)
SAJE	: South African Journal of Education
SCE	: Springfield College of Education
SGB's	: School Governing Bodies
SOE	: Superintendent of Education
SP	: Senior Primary
SS	: Senior Secondary
STC	: Senior Teacher's Certificate
STD	: Secondary Teacher's Diploma
SUSA	: Statute of South Africa
T2	: Teachers Second Class Certificate
T3	: Teachers Third Class Certificate
TASA	: Teachers Association of South Africa
TJC	: Teachers Junior Certificate
TRM	: Traditional Research Methodology/Methods
TTPF	: Temporary Teacher's Pension Fund

UCT : University of Cape Town
UDW : University of Durban-Westville
UED : University Education Diploma
UG : Union Govt
UGE : Union Gazette Extraordinary
UIF : Unemployment Insurance Fund
UN : University of Natal
UND : University of Natal, Durban
UNICEF : United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFORT : University of Fort Hare
UNISA : University of South Africa
UNIZUL : University of Zululand
UPE : Union Pension Fund
USSR : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UWC : University of Western Cape
UWPF : Union Widows Pension Fund
WCF : Workman's Compensation Fund
WITS : University of Witwatersrand

ABSTRACT

Women activists in teacher unions such as Sadtu claimed that there was a disjuncture between what the South African Constitution says about gender equity and what is happening in reality. This study was undertaken to investigate this claim from the women teachers' perspective.

This study explores how the social, cultural, political, historical, economic and educational factors influence the conditions of work and careers of the women teachers in KwaZulu-Natal. In this study, an historical outline of the contribution of various philosophies and attitudes to the relative position of KZN women from 1845 to 2000 is given in an attempt to seek solutions to the gender equity problem in education. The study also uses the racial perspectives to investigate the feminists' claim that Black women suffer triple oppression - that of gender, race and class.

An extensive exploratory study using a multiple method approach, incorporating data from documentary research, surveys and interviews leads to the presentation of a well etched picture of the KZN women teachers. A large sample of 339 educators participated in the study. The major findings of the study include the following aspects:

About 64 percent of the teachers in KZN province are women. Despite their majority in the teaching profession, their contribution to education is grossly undervalued. The most visible sign of this discrimination is the under-representativity of the women educators in managerial and decision-making positions in the education hierarchy. This stems from patriarchy which is still prevalent. Women are excluded from male dominated areas through socialisation and male resistance to change. Although about 98 percent of the women are certificated teachers, the majority of them have only a matriculation certificate as academic qualification. This stems from the historical under-investment in the girl child's education by parents and the State.

About 67 percent of the women teachers are married and 68 percent have children. The majority of them believe in the tradition of marriage and are very comfortable with the multiple roles they perform. However, the majority of the Black women derive little satisfaction from teaching at the moment because of the tough working conditions and the lack of respect from learners, parents and KZNDEC officials. Presently the Govt's R & R policies cause uncertainty and frustration for the teachers. The work environment at

historically Black schools can be unsafe with robbery and muggings which happen in the school grounds.

Women teachers are presently on a par with the men in economic terms. The most significant aspect of the empowerment is the ability to leave their pension benefits to their husbands or dependents upon their death, this gives them a new identity, that of benefactors. Through its affirmative action policies, the State is giving preference to women when promoting personnel to managerial posts.

Overall, the women teachers are still overworked and, therefore, relatively underpaid. Because of the role overload they are prone to ailments, frustration, stress etc. Therefore, it is recommended that their retirement age be reduced; the calculation of pension benefits for previously disadvantaged women teachers be corrected; women's health be given priority attention; childcare be provided at the workplace. In addition, more research on KZN women teachers' issues needs to be undertaken as this is only a baseline study.

This study confirms the women teachers' claim that thus far the new Govt has addressed only the class issues and not the issues of race and gender.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1. Introductory Orientation

This exploratory study of women teachers in KZN is centred on how socio-cultural, political, historical, economic and educational factors influence their work and careers. The study attempts to explore, describe and analyse women teachers' working and home life. Literature informs this study that women teachers, especially the married ones, fulfil multiple roles, endure many hardships such as marital discord and work (role) overload and suffer discrimination in the work situation (Lewenhak, 1992; Oskamp & Costanzo, 1993). To obtain a clearer picture of women teachers' lives and struggles, it was necessary to conduct a study of the development of women as teachers in KZN from 1845 to 2000.

1.2. The Origins of the Study

According to Ballinger (cited in Wickham, 1997), an important part of research is to examine where a particular research question originates and why it is so important to the researcher. Furthermore the question has to emerge from the researcher's own orientation. Therefore, the writer had to examine his own thoughts and feelings and interpret his own socialisation. He discovered that in his life-world males were empowered and the females were disempowered, that he himself was favoured because he was a male and his sister and his wife were discriminated against because they were females. The researcher, therefore, decided to undertake this study for reasons based on his personal experiences. He has chosen to describe the motivation for the study from three perspectives : his profession; his family; his academic training.

1.2.1. The Professional Context

The researcher was a professional teacher for thirty years, when he retired in April 1997. He was an HOD in the senior primary phase for seven years. In retrospect, he is able to see clearly the discrimination and injustices that were meted out to women teachers in general and married women teachers in particular. Not only were they under-paid for their work, they were also given fewer opportunities and narrower scope for advancement in their profession. As a male teacher he was given more administrative and decision-making roles and therefore he was in a position to exercise power over the women teachers and as an HOD he was given more power than the female HOD's.

1.2.2. The Family Context

The researcher is aware of how the education of his only sister, his female cousins and his female contemporaries was curtailed after reaching only Gr 3 in most cases. In fact, his sister had not been to a public school and some of his female cousins had not been to school at all. The harsh economic conditions of the 1940's and 1950's forced parents to withdraw the girls from school and send them to work as domestic servants in the homes of Whites and on sugar plantations. The boys were allowed to continue with their schooling. The researcher is in no doubt that his sister died a poor woman because she had no education to empower her.

Furthermore, the researcher's spouse is a practising teacher and he knows of the extent of the discrimination she, like her female colleagues, suffered over the years. He recognises the fact that as a male he was not only allowed more opportunities for advancement in education and power over female teachers but earned a higher salary and drew better service benefits as a teacher. He also acknowledges the fact that in his married life his wife had worked much harder than him - as a wife, a mother of three and a teacher. The 'unkindest cut' was that for the seventeen out of twenty-four years of her teaching service she was placed on temporary staff, she was retrenched and re-employed several times at different schools, and was subjected to shabby treatment by some principals and officials of the former Dept of Indian Education simply because she was professionally unqualified, until July 1995. In all the years she had taught as an uncertificated teacher she was grossly under-paid.

In addition, as the researcher is father to two daughters, he was well aware of the sex discriminatory education they were receiving. He had taken precautionary measures to change their course of study. However, he did not have as much success with all his female charges because, apart from his professional work in the classroom, he was powerless to change their course of study.

In view of the injustices and the discrimination in education, the researcher attempted to expose the education and teacher employment systems in his academic writing.

1.2.3. The Academic Context

Sexism and education has interested the researcher since he was reading for an honours degree in education. The problem of discrimination and injustices against women became very significant to him because the practice of sexism also affected his professional spouse and his daughters. Consequently, the need to study sexism and education presented itself to him. His master's studies focused on the implications of sexist versus non-sexist education for the SA Indian females. In addition, the unresearched nature of the field and the researcher's teaching background where there was evidence of unfair labour practices meted out to his female colleagues made it worthwhile to conduct an investigation on the service conditions and careers of the KZN women teachers.

1.3. Racial Perspectives in the Study

The researcher was motivated by two important factors to use racial perspectives in the study. First, he was aware of the triple oppression (of gender, race and class) that the Black women suffer and that in the SA context it was institutionalised racism that made oppression more inhuman. Second, he believed that if the Apartheid system was exposed in the study, it might influence readers to forgive the perpetrators of the injustice and, more importantly, not to repeat the practices of the past.

1.3.1. Terminology

The terms 'Black' and 'African' have become problematic in SA. Today most people assume that the term Black includes Africans, Indians and Coloureds. In fact, this definition is written in the Constitution of SA. In this study, as in the SA Constitution, the term Black is used to refer to Africans, Indians and Coloureds, and the term African refers to Black people who were referred to 'natives' or 'Bantu' during the nineteenth century.

In this study, historically designated racial categories (Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Whites) are used to give insights into how race was instrumental in defining women teachers' experiences of their profession. In the presentation, lengthy descriptions are shortened to facilitate reading (and comprehension). For example, in most cases terms such as 'African women teachers' and 'traditionally designated African schools' are written merely as Africans and African schools respectively.

1.4. The Context for the Study

The research focuses on the conditions of work and careers of the women teachers from the socio-cultural, historical, economic, political and educational perspectives. These perspectives are described briefly in the discussion that follows.

The literature review has revealed that there was a general lack of information on the status and working conditions of women teachers in South Africa in general and KZN in particular. Although some efforts have been made by teacher unions, such as SADTU to create awareness of women teachers' issues, these have focussed more on the political issues and economic deprivations suffered by the women teachers and not on their working conditions as such. What was lacking was a broad understanding of relevant aspects that impact on the status of the women teachers in schools. This meant extending the analysis to include socio-cultural aspects such as marriage and family, and education, all of which affect the conditions of work and the careers of teachers.

In the past, parents and the State had discriminated against the girl child and therefore had under-invested in their education (Vietzen, 1980, Rambiritch, 1955; Horrell, 1970, Hartshorne, 1992). The conditions under the Apartheid State worsened for Black females,

more especially the Africans, as they were discriminated against on racial lines as well (Pandor, 1994). With the granting of new political rights to all women in South Africa, it was expected that all discriminatory practices against women would cease. However, there is a general perception among teachers that whilst the new Govt has thus far partly addressed only the economic discrimination it has largely failed to address the other forms of oppression that women teachers suffer. Moreover, it was discovered that although most parents in different cultural groups have a positive attitude towards the girl child's education, they could still discriminate against their daughters in favour of their sons if funds run low (Delamont, 1992; Ponnusamy, 1995). The parents' mindsets against the education of the girl child and all the other discriminatory practices in the face of supposed transformation required to be investigated. This was to establish what women teachers' status in terms of educational opportunities and their profession was like.

SA feminists have asserted that women, especially the Africans and Indians, were deprived of their human rights because they were bound by stringent customary and religious laws (Powell, 1994; Rajab, 1997; Beall, 1982; Shayi, 1996). For example, some African women were forced into unwanted marriages for the purpose of securing *lobola* cattle (Meintjes, 1990; Marks, 1987). In patriarchal Hindu homes, marriages were arranged, sometimes much against the will of girls. It was expected of a married woman to worship the husband as a God (Rajab, 1997). To add to the problem, it was alleged that the majority of the Black women, especially the rural African women in customary marriages, were unaware of their rights and that there was legislation to protect their rights (Advice Desk for Abused Women, UDW, 1997). The writer believed that this study would illuminate the problem from the Black women's perspective.

In addition, marriage (with its domestic responsibilities) and childcare were perceived to be the strongest barriers to women's advancement in the teaching profession (Lewenhak, 1992; Oskamp & Costanzo, 1993; Beard and Simon, 1985). Some husbands who were patriarchal in their outlook objected to their wives bringing home work from school which interfered with their duties as housewives. The husbands refused to share the household duties and some even appropriated their wives earnings to exert their male authority. Moreover, the women had to fulfil many roles- wives, mothers, daughters-in-law, teachers etc. - which left them with no time to take further studies or apply for promotion. The problem is exacerbated by the lack of childcare facilities (Kotecha, 1994; Oskamp &

Costanzo, 1993; Einhorn & Yeo, 1995). The position of the women teachers in terms of role-overload, stress, premature burn-out and eventual ill-health needed to be investigated (Lewenhak, 1992; Lessing, 1994).

Job security and job satisfaction were two aspects identified as being very important for teachers to function productively as professional teachers (Kotecha, 1994; Figes, 1994; Mwamwenda, 1998)). However, anecdotal accounts, the media and teacher unions unanimously reported that these conditions were lacking for all teachers. But it was believed that women were more vulnerable as they were historically discriminated against in terms of allocation of work, tenure and service benefits. It was reported that in addition to job insecurity, the negative attitude of learners, parents, the male colleagues and the KZNDEC officials towards women teachers have eroded their professional status. It was believed that all of these factors seriously undermined the women teachers and had a negative impact on their efficiency and their professional growth. Therefore, this study investigates these conditions and suggestions are made to remedy the situation.

Various studies have concluded that women's work and their contribution to the economy are grossly undervalued and therefore, most of their efforts go largely unrewarded in terms of finance and status (Einhorn & Yeo, 1995; Lewenhak, 1992; Lessing, 1994). This claim has been vindicated in the annual report of the United Nations Development Programme in South Africa (Gender Related Development Index) in 1995 (Cooke, 1995). This report stated that of the 1.3 billion people living in poverty in the world, 70 percent were women. This finding has relevance for women teachers as Figes (1994) and Powell (1994) claim that these women are caught in a poverty trap in old age (or widowhood). It was repeatedly stated that women suffered unfair treatment in terms of tenure, salaries and other benefits, health insurance pensions etc in the past (SADTU Newsletter, April 1991; Kotecha, 1994). The discrimination in the conditions of service seriously disadvantaged women teachers in their old age because they contributed less to the retirement funds. The lower pension the women drew were inadequate to meet the cost of living and the medical costs in old age. This study investigates the problem to establish if the position of women teachers has improved, and if not, to suggest redress measures to remedy the situation.

In a patriarchal society every institution is defined in male terms and controlled by males and women are taught (socialised) to adapt to the needs of the males or the ethos of society. The socialization process has serious implications for the psychological health of

the women teachers in terms of self-image, self-esteem, assertiveness/submissiveness etc (Sharpe, 1976). Feminists assert that sexist language aids and abets male dominance especially in the workplace or market place where the powerful male form is used (Rockhill, 1987; Kramer, 1975; Lakoff, 1975, Webster, 1991). These assertions needed to be studied with reference to the status and working conditions of women teachers.

All of these concerns had impacted on the entire working life of the women teachers and they needed to be investigated in this study. They largely dictated the way research was conducted - the formulation of the critical questions, the theoretical framework, the research methodology adopted and finally the findings of the investigation.

1.5. The Theoretical Framework of the Study

This study of women teachers works from a feminist perspective, which claims that the sexual division of work deliberately serves to empower males and exploit females (Game & Pringle, 1984, Walker, 1990). Feminists claim that the exploitation of women is rooted in patriarchy, which uses structures such as division of labour, marriage and family to exploit women (Oakley, 1974; Friedl, 1975; Brittan, 1989; Byrne, 1978). Education serves to legitimate and perpetuate this exploitation through the division of knowledge, socialisation and sexist language (Game & Pringle, 1984; Rury, 1991; Webster, 1991).

This study also draws on other theories such as Marxist, neo-Marxist and post-modernist theories. For example, theories of class, culture, race and economics are considered from Marxist and post-modernist perspectives. Although neo-Marxists such as Hacker (1972), Weiner and Arnot (1987) and Walker (1990) have written about the triple oppression of Black women from the perspectives of class, race and gender, these (perspectives) have been overshadowed by western feminism. Furthermore, they use motifs based on male-female dichotomies which are not always relevant to Black women's experiences. For example, most western feminists argue that in the industrial era, women were dependent on men for survival but they had ignored the fact that in the same period in countries like South Africa, the women were largely the breadwinners in rural Black areas. By using cross-cultural perspectives of KZN teachers, it was envisaged that insights into the Eastern, African and Western perspectives of feminism would be deepened.

1.6. The Main Focus and Concepts in this Study

The working title of this research was an investigation into the '.... socio-cultural, historical, economic, political, psychological and educational influences on the conditions of work and careers of a group of women teachers in KZN'. The study focused on the women teachers from a feminist perspective. (vide 1.5) The concerns of the research described in this title were crystallised into precise questions to sharpen the focus of the investigation. These questions also set parameters for the study, while they point to some recommendations to improve the women's lives. The key questions are listed below:

1.6.1. How did the educational policies of the State affect the education, careers and conditions of work of KZN women teachers?

1.6.2. What are some of the cultural, social, economic and psychological influences on the conditions of work and lives of women teachers?

1.6.3. To what extent can the conditions of work for women teachers in terms of job security, job satisfaction, service benefits and the state of mental and physical health be improved?

1.7. Research Methodology

Since the aim of the research was to gain a broad perspective of the socio-cultural, historical, economic, political and education influences on women teachers' conditions of work and careers, a large amount of baseline data had to be collected from a variety of sources, including a large sample of women. In addition, a multiple method approach - constituted of surveys, interview and documentary analyses - was adopted as a strategy to overcome difficulties in data-gathering.

1.7.1 Choice of Research Sites

The researcher selected a sample of women teachers from the four major historically designated race groups employed in the KZNDEC's schools. As the KZNDEC schools are an amalgamation of the segregated schools of the Apartheid education system, the historical African, Indian, Coloured and White schools were targeted so that a representative sample could be selected. This method of selection was important for this study as it concerns the different cultural, social, educational, political and economic backgrounds of the teachers. It was considered that a comparison of the sub-groups of teachers was imperative to investigate Black feminists' claim of Black women's triple oppression - that of gender, race and class.

1.7.2 Specific Location of the Study

The decision to conduct the research along the Coastal Belt of KZN, stretching from Stanger (later changed to Empangeni) to Port Shepstone and the Durban and Pietermaritzburg regions was motivated by the suitability of the locality for the following reasons:

1. As a sizeable proportion of the KZN population resides here; therefore, the sample selected from this locality would be representative of the women teachers of KZN province as a whole.
2. The excellent communication network in the locality would facilitate access to the schools.

1.7.3 Sample

Three hundred and thirty-nine persons (334 women and 5 men) participated in the research. Four hundred women teachers, 100 each from four historically race-segregated schools, were selected for the questionnaire survey (Survey II), 35 women for the 'pilot study' (Survey I), 10 persons (7 women and 3 men) for interviews to gather oral historical data on Coloured education, and 16 women for interviews to gather data to augment Survey II data. A proposal to interview the KZNDEC officials was rescinded for logistical reasons.

1.7.4. Methods of Data Collection

To write a descriptive account of the women teachers, a large amount of qualitative and quantitative data were needed. Therefore, the qualitative as well as the quantitative methods were used to gather the required data.

1.7.4.1.1. Quantitative Data

A large amount of statistical data was gathered from 279 women teachers using the questionnaire survey (vide Appendix E). These data were used to augment the qualitative data. (vide 1.7.4.2.)

1.7.4.2. Qualitative Data

Qualitative data were gathered via two surveys and two sets of interviews. To gather data on the Coloured girl child's education it was necessary to interview 10 persons (vide 1.7.3.) and to test the validity of the items included in the Survey II questionnaire, a pilot study (Survey I) was conducted with 32 women using a letter-type questionnaire (vide Appendix D). When the items were confirmed, a large proportion of open-ended questions were included in the Survey II questionnaire (vide Appendix E). In-depth interviews with 16 women were conducted using semi-structured questions (vide Appendix F) to augment the data gathered in Survey II.

1.7.4.3 Documentary Data

A variety of documents such as teachers' journals, periodicals, brochures and Govt publications were consulted to glean socio-historical, educational, political and economic data on female education, teacher training and teachers' conditions of service. It emerged that although a large amount of literature on KZN existed, very little of it pertained to the education of females per se. The paucity of literature presented the problem of crafting data from the available documentary sources.

One way to address this gap was to interview knowledgeable people such as the Coloured

educationists (Vietzen, 1998).

1.7.5 Analysis of Data

The data gathered via the three methods described above were analysed and interpreted using a process of crystallisation. This process provided for an opportunity to get a 'deepened' understanding of the women teachers' issues (Richard, 1998).

1.8. Sequence of the Dissertation

An overview of what each chapter comprises is present in this section.

This chapter orientates the reader on the following aspects: the motivation for the study, the purpose for the study; the theoretical framework of the study; what the study sets out to achieve; the methodological approach; and an overview of the findings.

In chapter two, an overview of the development of the girl child's education in KZN is presented. The main focus is on attitude of the parents and the State on the girl child's education; the social, cultural and economic influences; the girl child's education in other countries - America, England, Holland, France, Germany, Russia and India - to provide enrichment on female education.

Chapter three reviews the development of teaching as a profession in KZN. This chapter focuses on: the pioneer teachers, the supply of teachers; teacher training and the professionalisation of teaching; the feminisation of teaching; the training and supply of teachers in America, Britain, Western Europe, USSR and India to draw comparisons with the KZN situation.

In chapter four the conditions of service of teachers are reviewed from a bureaucratic perspective. The main focus is on: the status of the teacher; conditions of employment; salaries and other benefits such as bonus, housing loan scheme, and medical aid scheme; social security such as pensions and workman's compensation; leave privileges, promotions opportunities.

In chapter five, existing literature on feminism and women (teachers) internationally and nationally is reviewed to accomplish the following: illuminating the concept of patriarchy and its pervasive influence on family, marriage, division of labour, presenting the institutions of family and marriage as sites of oppression for women; indicating that the sexual division of labour and sexist language as empowering males and disempowering females; demonstrating the proletarianisation of women and the professionalisation of women teachers in Britain and South Africa; and the under-remuneration of the work of teaching.

In chapter six, the research design of the study is described, focusing on: searching for a feminist methodology and its adoption in this study; the documentary research; the surveys; the interviews; the problems encountered in the research process and the success of the process; the procedure for analysis of data.

Chapter seven focuses on a presentation of data records and a detailed analysis of these data. The analysis addresses the critical areas of focus of the study, captured by the critical questions posed earlier in this chapter (vide 1.5). The main focus is on: the women teachers' personal life; their qualifications, rank and career; what the women felt about the conditions under which they work, the benefits they receive for their work, the opportunities for advancement in the profession and what changes they want.

In chapter eight, the data captured in the interviews are presented. The major themes to emerge from the interviews were: job satisfaction and job security; status of teachers and teaching; professionalism, marriage, family and single-parenthood; the multiple roles of women teachers, the compatibility between marriage/motherhood and teaching; service benefits; the economics of teaching; the politics of teaching.

Chapter nine focuses on: the summary of the study; evaluation of the findings; recommendations for possible empowerment of women teachers and further research.

1.9. Conclusion

This introductory chapter serves to revisit the main issues regarding the study. The sex discrimination against his female relatives and teacher colleagues motivated the researcher to undertake the study. The impetus was provided by the women teachers' claim that there was a disjuncture between gender equity guaranteed in the South African Constitution and the practice in education. Therefore, the study approached the problem from feminist theoretical perspectives and a feminist methodological approach was used to gather and process the data on KZN women teachers.

CHAPTER 2

Education of a Girl Child in KZN (1845-1994): A Socio-Cultural-Historical Perspective

2.1. Introduction

The inclusion of an historical overview of education in Natal, focusing on the girl child for a period of 150 years in this study is considered pertinent. The researcher believes that it is necessary to look at the background to the main issues of the study to place it in its proper context. Furthermore, it would help to sharpen the focus on some of the dynamics of educational change, which would, in turn, point to reach some balanced conclusions.

2.2. The Influences Exerted on a Girl Child's Education

What is remarkable about the education of the girl child in the early days of Natal Colony was the general apathy on the part of the parents and the Colonial State towards it. Several factors had contributed to the lack or the inadequacy of the education for the girl child.

2.2.1. The Attitudinal Influences

2.2.1.1. The Parents' Attitude

Most African parents favoured the education of their boys. They felt that it was useless to provide formal schooling for their girls because they would soon marry and lose the family name (Tenhoff, 1955; Shayi, 1996:43). In fact, the fathers seemed to have favoured their daughters' marriage as it brought good income in the form of lobola¹ cattle. That is, probably, why most of the girls had to leave school before they had completed Gr 8 (Scott, 1951).

Furthermore, the African parents were averse to sending their children to the mission schools for fear of the 'child-trap', which meant the evangelisation and westernisation of their children by the missionaries (McK Malcolm, 1934; Hunt, 1954; Astrup, 1954). The Christian missionaries had earlier condemned the African system of division of labour, polygamy² and the lobola system (Walker, 1990:13). It is probable that Zulu men found

¹ Lobola, often called brideprice, is a 'gift', usually of cattle, the bridegroom pays the bride's father in African traditional marriage.

² Polygamy is the practice of having more than one spouse at the same time. In KZN, it is generally used to mean having more than one wife at the same time.

the missionaries' attitude a threat to their socio-economic status; hence their aversion to Christianity at the time.

The Natal colonists and the Boer settlers did not lay importance on book learning for their children. Education was rudimentary and it lasted for only a few years for all but the wealthy (Hughes, 1990:198). R. J. Mann³ reported in 1859 that the parents, especially those in the countryside, saw no reason why their children should receive a higher education than that which they themselves had not been given (Atkinson, 1978:96). The parents withdrew them from school and prepared them precociously for adulthood - the boys being trained for economic self-reliance and the girls for domesticity and marriage (Leverson, 1971; Clark, 1975). Boys and girls were separated when they reached the level of 'higher' education (see notes) - a relative term meaning anything above two or three years of primary school - as the parents were not in favour of their daughters attending co-educational schools (Hughes, 1990:98). Generally, only the wealthy members of colonial society educated their children at this level. Most of these parents did not send their daughters to State (public) schools, opting instead to educate them at home under governesses or at private academies and ladies' academies and private church schools. As these parents did not favour the training of their daughters for careers or vocations but rather for life in the upper echelons of society, their education was intensely gender-specific and more cultural in nature. These institutions satisfied the parents' need for the building up of the ideal middle-class image for their daughters (Vietzen, 1971). The colonists' apathy about their daughters' education is evident from their general silence when the NCG failed to build high schools for them in Durban and Pietermaritzburg as recommended by the Education Commission of 1873-4 (Vietzen, 1980:74). Even when high schools were established in these towns, the girls from the rural areas were unable to attend them, as there was no boarding accommodation available (Palmer, 1935). Yet the parents sent their sons to boarding schools locally or to public schools in Britain (Hughes, 1990:198).

The Indian parents 'refused to have their girls taught to read' (Nair, 1975:69). Therefore, as late as 1938, some 10 000 girls of school-age had no schooling owing to the Indian parents' apathy (Pells, 1938:137). They believed that a formal education was not necessary for the girl child (Manohar, 1971:28). Firstly, they did not entertain the idea of a career for their daughters right up to the 1950's. The parents considered it a slight on the family reputation to send their daughters to work (Pillay, 1967:181; Osman, 1975:5-7) (vide 2.2.1.4.) Secondly, the Indian parents preferred early marriage for their daughters, seeing it as protection for them in a hostile world (Rambiritch, 1955:54-55). Generally, they kept

³ R.J Mann: First SOE in Natal Colony between 1857 and 1866; highlights of his superintendency were building schools, teacher training and system of state-aided schools (DSAB, 1972:437).

the girls at home and gave them a simple home-spun education, centred on domesticity and preparation for marriage. Some parents were reluctant to send their daughters to co-educational schools or to have them taught by male teachers for fear of sexual harassment and abuse by both the boys and the male teachers. If these incidents did occur, they would have become scandalous; and the parents feared that their daughters' chances of securing husbands would be jeopardised (ibid). This is why even when the authorities established separate schools in the 1930's very few girls remained at school to complete Gr 10. In fact, until the 1950's the girls were generally withdrawn from school at the onset of puberty and prepared for marriage. (vide 2.2.1.2.2.) Uppermost in the minds of the parents was marriage for their daughters (Osman, 1975:5-7). The Indian parents' attitude to marriage and education was very clear. For example, up to the 1920's there was a shortage of brides for the young Indian men in Natal. This prompted the parents, who were eager to marry off their daughters, to withdraw them from school from an early age, resulting in the girls' enrolment to drop markedly (Pillay, 1967:179). Furthermore, the purdah system among the Muslims was enforced. (vide 3.3.1.3.1.4.2.1.) At puberty the girls were withdrawn and confined to zenanas (Rambiritch, 1955:54). Thirdly, the Indian parents, like the Africans, believed that educating the girl child was of no benefit to the family as they would soon marry and leave home. Therefore, they preferred investing in the education of their sons (Rambiritch, 1955:54-55; Shayi, 1996:43; Singh, 1995).

Sir Kurma Reddi⁴ appealed to Indian parents to educate their girls (Manohar, 1971:29). In contrast to their African and Indian counterparts, the Coloured parents did not place marriage before education for their girls. If there were impediments to the girl child's education, it was certainly not early marriage but some other factors such as economic deprivation (Green-Thompson, 1998; Africa, 1999). Girls and boys were generally given equal access to education. In times of financial crisis most Coloured parents normally chose the more capable children, regardless of sex, to send to school (Pierce, 1998; Stuart, 1999). However, some conservative parents who regarded males to be breadwinners preferred to empower the boys (Samuel, 1998; Stuart, 1999). Most of the Coloured parents who withdrew their daughters from schools at an early age did so because of poverty (ibid).

⁴ Sir Kurma Reddi: Second Agent-General of India in SA (1929-1932); pointed out to SA Govt the failure of Cape Town Agreement of 1927, inadequate education for Indian children was one of the issues (DSAB, 1987:623-5).

2.2.1.2. The State's Attitude

2.2.1.2.1. The Natal Colonial Govt's Attitude (1845-1893)

Prior to 1875 the NCG's policies on White education were strongly influenced by the conservative attitudes obtaining in Britain. Formal State education in Natal was only initiated in 1848. Two 'model' primary schools were established, in Pietermaritzburg (1849) and Durban (1850), to provide organised education for European children. In 1851 the NCG established schools in small villages such as Verulam, Ladysmith and Greytown, under the State-aided school system (Nuttall, 1949:16-17). These schools provided rudimentary, free education, which was generally undifferentiated for boys and girls. The State schools were not well supported by the 'middle' and 'upper' class girls (Vietzen, 1980:41). State sponsored primary education was expanded by the provisions of Law 15 of 1877 (NGG, No 1679, 04/12/1877, pp. 4-5).

Law 16 of 1877 laid down the establishment of State secondary schools for boys and girls but there was no specific mention of any provision for girls at that stage (ibid: 5-6). In spite of the pressure exerted by R. J. Mann and T. W. Brooks⁵ to establish State secondary schools for girls in Pietermaritzburg and Durban as recommended by the Education Commission of 1873-4, the NCG shelved the idea because of economic constraints. Instead the NCG opted to subsidise private institutions, which provided secondary education, since this would serve both to appease the parents and increase the NCG's participation in the girl child's education (Vietzen, 1980:48-9).

Initially most of the Coloured children attended the White and African schools. In 1854 a State-aided school flourished in Verulam. The little secondary education that was available was apparently provided by the church missions (Nuttall, 1949:29). Ordinance No.2 of 1856 was passed to promote State education for Coloured children in Natal (NGG, No. 371, 22/01/1856, pp.1-2). As a result, State primary schools were opened in Durban and Pietermaritzburg for the Coloured children in 1874. For many years the majority of Coloured children in Natal received only the rudiments of education (Horrell, 1970:21).

The missionaries opened schools for Africans in KZN around 1835 (Behr and MacMillan, 1971:381). Even when their work was interrupted in the turmoil of the Dingaan⁶ period the missionaries remained in the vanguard of African education (Nuttall, 1949:39). The State only became involved in 1852 when the Education Commission was appointed. This

⁵ T.W. Brooks: Second Superintendent of Education in Natal Colony from 1866 to 1876; urged NED to improve conditions of schools, not done in his superintendency owing to lack of funds (DSAB, 1981:60).

⁶ Dingaan: Zulu King from 1828 to 1840; his reign characterized by uncertainty caused by his vacillating policies (DSAB, 1972:194-196).

commission reported to the NCG that, at the time, no general, systematic attempt had been made by the State to educate the African youth (Nuttall, 1949:40). But the State acted decisively only in 1883, when parliament passed the Native Primary Education Law of 1883 (Law No.1, 1884) (NGG, No.2055, 22/04/1884, pp. 75-6). This law systematised education for the Africans in Natal. For example, regulations were framed, an Inspector of Native Schools was appointed, teachers were trained and facilities were provided for African children on the lines of those available for European children. The curriculum for boys and girls was undifferentiated except for manual labour training and Domestic Science (NTJ, October 1939).

The State appears not to have given any real consideration to Indian education from 1860 to 1878. In fact, there was no agreement in the contract between the Natal cane-growers and the Indian immigrant workers for the provision of education for Indian children (Lazarus, 1966:17). Singh (1987:4) and Rambiritch (1955:20) argue that part of the problem could be that the children were also employed on the cane-fields. Osman (1975:4) points out that, to add to the problem, even the Indian Govt had neglected to include the issue of provision of education for the immigrants' children in the agreement drawn between itself and the NCG. But, there were always some learned people, usually the elders, among the Indian immigrants who deeply felt the need to teach something to the children in their community (Behr, 1970:8). This culture of teaching appears to have led the parents to establish private vernacular schools (ibid). The State only moved in by subsidising mission schools which were established to provide a more secular, formal education for the Indian children in 1869 (Singh, 1987:4). In 1872, out of an estimated population of 930 Indian children of school-going age, only 73 boys and 15 girls attended school (Osman, 1975:4; Naidoo, 1989:104). Therefore, the Natal Legislature passed Law 20 of 1878, which provided for the establishment of an IISB to administer and promote the education of indentured Indians' children (NGG, No.1739, 26/11/1878, pp.4-5). The IISB attached much importance to the provision of schools, especially for girls. In 1894, there were four State schools for girls - two in Durban, one in Umzinto and the other in Pietermaritzburg (Manohar, 1971:29). In 1879 the NCG made available a grant of £1 500 which was utilised to open schools at Durban, Umgeni and Tongaat. A basic education was provided at the State schools. Few girls attended them and many of them left within a year or two (Behr, 1970:9). Evidence is that in 1886 there were 274 Indian girls in school in Natal but in 1902 this number was reduced to 192 (Manohar, 1971:30).

2.2.1.2.2. The Natal Responsible Govt's Attitude (1894-1909)

Under the Education Act, 1894 (No.5 of 1894) a Dept of Education was established to take control of education for White children in Natal (NGG, No. 2686, 03/07/1894, p.670).

Two distinct categories of schooling emerged - the primary schools supported by the State and the secondary schools supported by private enterprise (Nuttall, 1949:19). According to Vietzen (1980), the colonists preferred the secondary education for their girls to be left to private institutions. In keeping with the Victorian concepts of religious and social class structure, the upper class White female youths were sent to ladies' academies and finishing schools to be prepared for life in a socially stratified society (Hughes, 1990:98).

In this period, also, Indian Education and Coloured Education in Natal were placed under the control of the Education Department. Indian education expanded as Indian businessmen and the Indian community took the initiative to build State-aided schools. Girls' attendance at these schools was still low as the parental prejudices were still strong (Osman, 1975:5). Although the State had provided single sex schools to encourage parents to send their daughters to school, the girls' attendance remained low. (vide 2.2.1.2.1.) Nair (1975:25-26) and Levine (1962:361) point out that, to add to the problem, the shortage of women teachers greatly hampered the Indian girl child's education. Overall, the State's provision of education for Indian children grew very slowly. A possible reason for this was that the Whites had harboured a hope that the Indians would be expatriated eventually (Hughes, 1990:198-9).

The State merely discharged its responsibility to African education by subsidising the mission and community schools. The African parents recognised the State's neglect and expressed their dissatisfaction at the Natal Native Affairs Commission in 1907. They felt a need for education because the educated Africans were earning good money on the gold fields in the Transvaal. Their grievances led to the establishment of the Native Education Advisory Board, which had a powerful influence on Native education in Natal (Nuttall, 1949:42).

2.2.1.2.3. The Union and Republic Govts' Attitude (1910-1994)

By 1910 four distinct departments of Education - European, Coloured, Indian and African, had emerged. The Union Act of 1910 placed these four departments under the control of the provinces. Under the UG prominence was given to higher education for the children (Behr, 1984:20-1).

The NPA established the Durban Girls' High School in 1914 and the Pietermaritzburg Girls' High School in 1920 for White girls. Of course, Law 16 of 1877 was passed by the Natal Govt to establish such schools in these towns but the plan was not implemented because of the lack of funds (Vietzen 1980:48-9). (vide 2.2.1.2.1.) However, several private schools were in existence, which provided secondary education for the girls. But

equal access to education was not accorded to many girls partly due to the lack of boarding accommodation at these schools in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. For example, the girls from the country towns like Stanger, Greytown and Ladysmith, and the rural areas were denied a secondary education, as their parents could not find suitable accommodation for them. The girls were unable to commute to these schools, as suitable transport was not available. The railway line between the Natal border town of Volkrust and Pietermaritzburg was only opened in 1936. The boys, on the other hand, had long established boarding facilities at their schools which enabled them to remain at school till their high school careers were accomplished (Palmer, 1935). To add to this problem, the authorities appear to have under-invested in other respects. For example, in planning for girl child's education they did not give due attention to space, quality equipment and other resources at girls' schools generally (ibid).

In 1920, the average enrolment of Indian girls in Govt and Govt-aided Indian schools was below 20 percent and in 1928, this figure increased to 20.5 percent (Manohar, 1971:30). Secondary education for the Indian girls was formally introduced only in 1930. To encourage Indian parents to send their daughters to secondary school the NPA established the Mitchell Crescent Girls School in Durban as a single sex school. To alleviate the problem of the girls being taught by male teachers, women teachers were recruited from Britain and India. In 1930 there were 7 Indian girls in secondary school but this number increased to only 817 by 1954 (Osman, 1975:5). This slow growth was attributable mainly to parental attitudes. (vide 2.2.1.1.) But with the advent of industrialization and individual competition in the job market, this attitude of the Indian parents changed. However, with the passing of the Indian Education Act, Act No. 61 of 1965 (SUSA, 1965:886-933) the provision of secondary education for Indian girls was accelerated. The girls remained at school for longer periods, with the result that in 1974, out of a school population of 129 052, 64 073 or 49,5 percent were girls; at UDW, out of a total of 2208 students, 701 were females and at the M.L. Sultan Technikon there were 422 full-time and 2367 part-time female students (Osman, 1975:5-7; Official Yearbook of RSA, 1976:707).

The first secondary classes for Coloured children were started in 1917 at two State schools in Durban. In 1924 all the secondary school pupils were transferred to the Umbilo Road High school where classes were extended to Gr 12 (Horrell, 1970:66-7). Secondary classes were started in Greyling Street School in Pietermaritzburg, where co-education was practised, and at Little Flower School in Ixopo (Nuttall, 1949:32). It was hoped that the girls would pass Gr 9 at least to enable them to train as nurses (Natal Mercury, 27 October 1936). The Natal Consolidated Education Ordinance of 1942 made education compulsory for every White and Coloured child in the province from the seventh year to fifteenth year when the child would have completed Gr 8 (Behr, 1984: 239). Under the RG, Coloured

Education in Natal was transferred from Provincial control to the Central Govt in 1964 by the Coloured Persons Education Act, 1963 (Act 47 of 1963) (SUSA, 1963:494-543). The Division of Education in the Department of Coloured Affairs observed that one of the biggest problems in Coloured education was the attrition rate among the students. Most pupils left school on the completion of Gr 10, which was considered a milestone in education for the Coloured people. The result was that, even when the four phase system was adopted in 1972, the Gr 10 examination was retained as a partly external examination so that successful candidates could be issued with certificates. The retention rate up to Gr 12 increased gradually from 10,14 percent in 1965 to 24,19 percent in 1981. It is argued that compulsory education introduced in 1974 led to a decrease in the attrition rate from 4,01 percent in 1971 to 2,72 percent in 1981 (Behr, 1984: 282).

According to the constitution of the Union of South Africa the control and financing of African education was the responsibility of the Provincial Council. In Natal rapid progress occurred after 1918 when C. T. Loram⁷ took over African education. Within a short time he established state schools, centres for agricultural training and created new courses for teachers (Behr, 1984:175). Education was to be funded from General Tax imposed on Africans by the UG (Nuttall, 1949: 40). Three types of educational institutions emerged - the primary schools, the secondary schools and the teacher training institutions. However, the 1935 report of the Inter-departmental Committee revealed that about 70 percent of the African children of school-going age were not at school (Behr, 1984:177). African education changed completely when it was taken over by the State in terms of the Bantu Education Act, 1953 (Act 47 of 1953) (SUSA, 1953: 258-276). State schools replaced mission schools. Higher education and teacher training were taken over completely by the State (Wood, 1972:25).

These structures remained until education was taken over by the legislative assemblies of the different homeland Govts. Since only 40 percent of the African children were in school in 1954, emphasis in the new dispensation was on fundamental education (Behr, 1984:184).

2.2.1.2.4 The Church Missions' Attitude (1845-1953)

The churches and the missionary societies were the pioneers in providing education for the girl child in the various communities in Natal. All denominations felt an obligation to make some provision for the education of the children of Natal Colony (Vietzen,1980:70-1). As the clerics represented the best educated element of colonial society, it stood to

⁷ C. T. Loram: Chief Inspector of African Education in Natal Colony from 1917 to 1931; authority on Bantu Education, structured and developed Bantu Education in Natal (DSAB, 1977:537-8).

reason that the churches and the missions took the initiative to provide education.

Furthermore, the schools run by church missions, such as the Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions, were popular because of the respectability, the prestige and the standing of the clerics. The White parents saw the church schools as acceptable alternatives to the State schools because of their religious bent and their resemblance to the academies. Therefore, the Mission schools were well supported by White girls (ibid).

The State recognised the role of private agencies in education. Frequently a need for schooling amongst the various social classes was expressed. The church relieved the NCG of some of this responsibility by providing undifferentiated, elementary education for boys and girls. In addition, the church provided trained teachers, which the NCG did not have, either the resources or the capacity to do. To make its contribution to education, the NCG granted financial aid to these educational agencies. (vide 2.2.1.2.1. & 3.3.1.4.1.3.)

It was the church missions, such as the American Mission, the Wesleyan Methodist and the Anglican, that undertook the bulk of the educational work for the African girl child in Natal. Education was the principal means of evangelisation (Hughes, 1990:199). Mission day schools, which were given minimal state grants-in-aid, were scattered throughout the African reserves. Most of them were one-teacher schools consisting of classes of pupils of all ages. Basically, the curriculum catered for the 3 R's; the religious content was very strong and it was sexually undifferentiated (Hughes, 1990:200-1). The missionaries attached considerable importance to 'higher education' for the Africans. For evangelical work to succeed most of the personnel they required, such as teachers, lay preachers and community leaders, had to be trained locally. The only occupation open to women in the church missions at the time was teaching (ibid).

Three institutions of higher learning for African students - Adams College (1853), Inanda Seminary (1869) and Ohlange (1904) - were opened. The Inanda Seminary was established as a single-sex girls' school. The primary aim in establishing the Seminary was to mould the African female converts into Christian wives and mothers in accordance with the missionary views on gender ideology (Scott, 1951). Adams College trained males for Christian roles but in the missionaries' view, this was only half the requirement for propagating a stable Christian community. The missionaries wanted suitably trained African women to marry the churchmen trained at Adams College. In fact, the missionaries wanted these African women to be trained for roles similar to those of the missionaries' wives (ibid). Therefore, the emphasis in the girl child's education was to be on the home, where a wife was a helpmate to her husband as well as a good Christian mother. The missionaries viewed this as not being a preparation for a life of servitude but

rather a release from it. A woman, by controlling her domain, would gain social equality with men. The missionaries' view received support from Sir Theophilus Shepstone⁸, who in 1869 posed this question: "What is the good of educating a young man and then marrying him to an ignorant half heathenish girl?" (Meintjes, 1990:138). By the mid-1880's missionary teaching had spread among the Africans. Some girls came to the Seminary to escape from oppressive social expectations and sexual relations e.g. unwanted marriages.

Many came simply to learn because their parents found the Seminary to be very attractive as a place of learning. Secular education for Indians was due entirely to missionary endeavours (Behr, 1970:8). In 1867, Rev. Luber Sabon⁹ began his first school for Indian children in Durban with an enrolment of 32 and in 1869, Rev Ralph Scott¹⁰ opened a day school for the children of the plantation Indians and an evening school for older scholars (ibid; Manohar, 1971:23). But no girls attended these schools because of their parents' attitude. (vide 2.2.1.1.).

However, by 1872 there were four Indian mission schools in Durban with an enrolment of 73 boys and 15 girls (Lazarus, 1966:19). Indian education expanded to some extent in the period up to 1877. Rev. L.P. Booth¹¹ of the Church of South Africa's Indian Mission took the initiative to promote the education of girl child by opening a separate school for them with two English women teachers. The Wesleyan Mission opened another such school. In 1886, the total enrolment of girls was 274 as against 1428 of boys (Rambiritch, 1955:57). According to Pillay (1967:176), most of these girls came from Indian Christian homes. The St Aidan's Mission also improved the enrolment of girls at their schools by importing Indian and White women to teach them and by introducing sewing for them at their Sydenham school (Rambiritch, 1955:59-60).

The real pioneers in providing schools for the Coloured children in Natal were the church missions such as the Roman Catholic and Anglican Missions. In 1882, the Order of the Sisters of St John opened a school in Pietermaritzburg, in 1896, the Rev. Mother Mary of the Cross opened a school for Indian and Mauritian girls in Durban and in 1923, the Roman Catholic order opened a school in Ixopo (Horrell, 1970:66-7). Later, other schools

⁸ Sir Theophilus Shepstone: Public Servant and Bantu Administrator in Natal from 1845 to 1876; improved lives of Bantu in terms of settlement, laws etc, wrote papers and delivered speeches on Bantu (DSAB, 1968:715-721).

⁹ Rev. Luber Sabon: First Roman Catholic parish priest in Durban, 1852-1883; worked amongst Indians, learnt Tamil to facilitate work, opened a small school in 1875 (DSAB, 1972:612).

¹⁰ Rev Ralph Scott : Wesleyan Missionary in Durban, pioneered mission work among Indians in 1862; Superintendent of 'Coolie' Mission, inculcated in Indians their own culture and developed their own education system (DSAB, 1981:626).

¹¹ Rev L. P. Booth: Medical doctor and clergyman; ordained as Anglican priest in 1883 and ministered to Indians in Durban and Pietermaritzburg (DSAB, 1977:79-80).

were opened at centres like Stanger, Harding, Clairwood and Umtwalumi. Consequently, there were 322 Coloured children at school in 1902 and in 1949 this number rose to 6173 (Nuttall, 1949:29-31). Most of the schools taught only the elements of reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography. In addition, a considerable amount of time was spent on religious instruction (Horrell, 1970:19-20). Co-education was commonly practised but in the 1930's the Coloured parents showed a preference for boys and girls to be taught separately (The Natal Mercury, 27/10/1936). However, the provision of co-educational schools or single-sex schools was never a major issue in KZN Coloured education (Pierce, 1998).

2.2.2. Cultural Influences

Three dominant cultures seem to have prevailed in Natal in the 1800's: the African (Zulu), the European and the Indian. The Coloured community appears to have been largely influenced by the European culture (Africa, 1999). Each culture had impacted differently on the girl child's education in the respective community in the early days.

African culture in general offers male children greater opportunities in life than they offer female children (James, 1995:17). James (1995) explains that this pattern is noticeable in every field of African endeavour. Therefore, although more than 75 percent of the African population are females, there are only slightly more than 29 percent females in the elementary schools alone (ibid). The cultural disadvantages in education suffered by the African females date back to pre-colonial times. Among the Africans the family was responsible for the education of the boys and girls. Young children were left largely to their own devices. Much of their time was spent in groups participating in a variety of games and occupations. Gradually they were introduced to work according to their sex (Atkinson, 1978:11).

At adolescence the African children came under the influence of education outside the family circle for the first time. The boys and girls were initiated separately into adult life. The initiation ceremonies were amongst the most important occasions in the life of the Africans (ibid). The programme included songs, dances, etiquette, sociability, matrimonial duties, language training, customs, family and tribal history. The aim of these programmes was to develop loyalty to the tribe, womanhood and co-operation for nationhood. The dances had an important function, which was to strengthen the girls' muscles for child-bearing (Foster-Smith, 1955:372).

Western civilisation invaded the African way of life and changed it into a more

complicated system (ibid). The main aim of the missionaries was to evangelise the Africans but Luthuli (1986) explains that mission education has led to the transformation of the African culture. Industrialisation, urbanisation and westernisation have caused the African women to break with tribal traditions to a large measure (McK Malcolm, 1931).

The White girl child's education in Natal was largely influenced by a culture prevailing in Victorian England. Victorian prudery dictated what the Natal White girl child should be. The Natal White males of the period wanted their women to be, in the Victorian Christian tradition, respectable, good, accomplished and socially acceptable. This was achieved mainly through the efforts of the religious organisations, the governesses and the ladies' academies (Vietzen, 1980:22-3).

The education of the daughters of the Voortrekkers, on the other hand, was less sophisticated, unstable and ineffective (Steenkamp, 1938). Because of their nomadic nature and pastoral occupation, Trekboers taught their children mainly in the evenings. The Boers who led a more settled life sent their children to transitory schools (e.g. 'tent' schools) where an itinerant teacher taught them the elements of reading, writing and simple arithmetic (ibid). The elements of religious instruction and respect for authority both at home and at school were very strong (Malherbe, 1925:183; Behr and MacMillan, 1971:117). Furthermore, the sons and daughters of the Voortrekkers were trained by their fathers and mothers respectively to become God-fearing, hardy men and women (ibid).

The majority of Indian immigrants were Hindus (Ramphal, 1989:73). These immigrants brought with them from India the strong influence of the Hindu culture (Nair, 1975:69). As the Hindus were deeply religious, indoctrination in the Hindu religion began in early childhood (Rambiritch, 1955:50-55). Religious instruction was given in the home and at the vernacular schools. Girls as future mothers had to observe strict discipline when it came to rituals, which dominate Hindu life (ibid). According to Hindu ideals, marriage for a Hindu woman is obligatory (Hey, 1961:164). Furthermore, early marriage was very common. According to Jithoo (1975:34-5), this practice emanated from the idea of child-marriage or early marriage practised in India. Early marriage meant that the majority of the girls were withdrawn from school even before they had mastered the rudiments of primary school education, roughly Gr 6 in Natal at that time (Pillay, 1967:179). The educational values of the early immigrants were strongly influenced by this culture (Pillay, 1972:49). There was fear among the Indian parents that westernised education would make their girls less fit for marriage and the home (Manohar, 1971:65).

2.2.3. Social Influences

After 1845 the British social system predominated in Natal society (Behr, 1984:9). One of the social institutions in which the British class system became visible was education, especially secondary education. There developed two distinctive types of education - a specialised 'secondary' education for the 'middle' and 'upper' class girls and a general 'primary' education for the less privileged class girls (Vietzen, 1971). Secondary education was provided largely by private, individual initiatives. The churches played a steadily increasing role while the State played only a supplementary role in this initiative (Atkinson, 1978:96-7).

Prior to the 1860's higher education for a girl child in Britain was retarded because women were barred from entering professional work. But when the women's education movement gained momentum in Britain the influence gradually spread to Natal. The girls from wealthy homes began receiving 'secondary' education at home from governesses or at ladies' academies and church schools. As these parents saw no need for careers or vocational training for their daughters, book learning was regarded as unnecessary for them. Therefore, the curriculums were designed to provide social skills for the girls to function in the middle and upper strata of Natal colonial society. These included English, modern languages, drawing, sewing, embroidery, singing, dancing etc. The emphasis was on inculcating social habits and graces so that the young women could become accomplished and socially competent (Vietzen, 1980:76-91).

The State 'primary' schools provided an undifferentiated education for boys and girls. Generally, the less privileged children attended these schools. As many of these schools offered 'secondary' school subjects, the establishment of specific secondary schools seemed unnecessary to the NCG (Vietzen, 1971). School life for the less privileged children was short. When they were withdrawn from school, the girls were trained in domesticity or for menial jobs. The boys were trained by their fathers in occupations such as farming, wagon-making, black-smithing, etc (Clark, 1975).

The social position of the South African Indian women has been a tradition, which the early immigrants inherited from India. In 1860 they came with ideas about women in British India where their role reflected complete subordination to men (Rambiritch, 1955:45-47). In their childhood, the Indian females were protected by their fathers, in their married life by their husbands and in their old age by their sons. They were never without protection of one kind or another and they never enjoyed any measure of independence (Pillay, 1972:49).

At puberty the girl child was withdrawn from school and given a family-based education under the tutelage of the mother or other female relatives (vide 2.2.1.1.). Adolescent girls had to assume added responsibilities, which were directed towards making them competent wives. Their dress, speech, manners and habits were regulated so that they did not become subjects of local gossip, which would have jeopardised their chances of finding suitable husbands. They were tutored through anecdotes and reminiscences on the subject of marriage - what they should expect in their husbands' home. They were given training in cooking, washing, sewing, care of the old and the younger unmarried members of the husbands' families and other domestic duties they might encounter in their married life (Rambiritch, 1955:50-55). The parents and other significant relatives were largely responsible for choosing husbands or wives for the youths in the Indian community (Jithoo,1975:24).

Reverence for learning had always been a central feature of Indian culture but the education of the girl child was hampered because of her limited domestic role in the social structure (Behr, 1970:8; Osman, 1975:5). Sex role differentiation in the Indian home was very strict. The Indian men did not involve themselves in household chores and the women were not expected to work outside the home. Most Indian families, especially of the wealthier class, did not allow women to go out to work as this was a poor reflection on the menfolk and a slight on the family reputation (Pillay, 1967:179-181; Maasdorp, 1969:25). Therefore, in contrast to the boys, the girls were trained to function in a private domain well into the 1950's. Since the Indian girls did not go out to work, a high level of education was neither necessary nor desirable for them (Pillay, 1972:50). (vide 2.2.1.5.) In fact, as late as the 1950's it was rare for the girls in some orthodox sections of the Indian community, for example, the Muslims, to attend high school. If this did happen, the family concerned was probably subjected to ostracism (Turner, 1974). In general, the Indian parent was not favour of the older girl child attending co-educational schools (Report of SOE, Natal, 1939, p.14); and the shortage of Indian women teachers was a major reason for Indian girl child not attending school (Manohar, 1971:74).

In the African patriarchal society women were considered to be inferior to men (James, 1995: 92). They were treated as minors and they were perpetually under the tutelage of the fathers, the family or their husbands. At the death of their husbands they were passed onto the sons or some other male relatives (Wood, 1969:11; James, 1995:92). The low status of the females from childhood to womanhood was translated into restricted educational opportunities for the African women (James, 1995:92). The social position of African women and girls was influenced by two sex-gender systems - the indigenous system and the settler systems. In the pre-colonial system the females were responsible for the production of food on the farms. The central dynamic of these societies was the

subjugation of women through the appropriation and control of their productive and reproductive capacity by men (Walker, 1990:13-15). Through the institution of marriage men had control over women and over their children (the reproduction of labour power). Furthermore, the marriage of their daughters enhanced the social prestige of men as the lobola cattle increased their wealth. Apart from amassing wealth, there was another social need for cattle; that is, the fathers needed cattle to pay lobola for their sons' marriages or their own marriages if they wanted to take additional wives (Wood, 1969:11-12). Hence, father's indifference to his girl child's education. Women in the pre-colonial society had, however, enjoyed considerable status and limited authority because of their fertility and their control of the agricultural process (Walker, 1990:8).

In the settler society the African women were enmeshed in new forms of oppression. The African had to be drawn into the economic system. (vide 2.2.1.5.) This had to be done through education, which had to be provided by the missions, as the State had no means to do this. Majeke (1986:135) contends that: 'Education itself had to be an instrument of enslavement.' This meant that education for the African had to be practical - training for manual work. The missionaries had to redefine the division of labour for African men and women in accordance with western stereotypes and Christian doctrine. The missionaries regarded the work the women and girls did - that is producing food in the homestead - to be men's work. By the missionaries' redefinition then the African men had to work on the farms and the women had to become Christian housewives and mothers. (vide 2.2.1.2.4.). This ideology prevailed until the mineral and industrial revolutions in South Africa when the sex-roles of the women were modified to suit the industrialised colonial economy. Under the migrant labour system the state legislated for the women to remain in the rural areas to produce food, care for the children and take charge of the homestead while the men worked in the mines and the industry. (vide 2.2.1.2.5).

The domestication of African women had two not wholly compatible aspects, that is being wives and mothers in their own households and domestic workers in other households, usually White (Majeke, 1986:68-9). At the mission schools, apart from literacy, numeracy and religion, the emphasis was laid on training the girls as mothers, housewives, and domestic servants.

Upon termination of schooling, they were generally placed in White households as domestic servants. This practice helped to propagate and/or perpetuate the leisurely class of (mainly) White women, which despised manual work in the face of cheap Black labour. The preparation of the African girls for domestic and other menial work was one of the striking features of mission education for the Africans. The State for its part funded mission education, which trained the African people to service the social class and

economic systems of the colonial state (ibid).

However, not all mission education for the girls was aimed at preparation for subservience, however. The missionaries needed their African converts, males and females, to spread the evangelical message; so they trained African teachers, lay preachers and clergy. The Inanda Seminary, for example, in addition to domesticity, trained girls for the professions of teaching and nursing. (vide 2.2.1.2.4.) It is argued that this institution had soon begun providing an elitist education resulting in African embourgeoisment. In summary, with all the enlightenment it provided, mission education for Africans, supported rather than challenged the structures of racial, sexual and class discrimination (ibid). But, in its wake, it helped to propagate a petty bourgeois class of Africans (Walker, 1990:14-15).

2.2.4. Economic Influences

The State appears to have had under-invested in the education of girl child. The economic conditions prevailing during the period under review had a greater impact on the girl child's education than the other factors had.

The economic deprivation of the Indian immigrants was one of the most important factors, which hampered the education of their children, particularly the girls. Lazarus (1966:17) states that there is no evidence of either the cane farmers or the Colonial State attempting to start schools for the immigrants' children (vide 2.2.1.2.1.). Part of the problem, it is suggested, could be found in the fact that the children were also employed on the sugar-cane fields, earning, like their mothers, half of the fathers' wages. In fact, the planters discouraged the education of the Indian youths as they considered them to be more useful as labourers on the sugar-cane fields. The immigrants whose children worked on the sugar-cane fields received better treatment than those who sent their children to school (Singh, 1987:4). This preferential treatment from the employers in the face of their dire poverty seems to have enticed many of the immigrants to keep their children on the sugar-cane fields, depriving them of an education as a result (ibid).

The cost of education also hampered the school attendance of the Indian girls, as the majority of the parents could not afford to send them to school (Manohar, 1971:65). Education in the early days was neither free nor compulsory. The parents had to buy the books and pay the school fees of up to two shillings per month (Rambiritch, 1955:54). Considering the meagre wages the immigrants earned, these fees were too high. It was impossible for the Indians with large families to send all their children to school; so they had to be selective. In most cases the Indian parent discriminated against the girl child (ibid). (vide 2.2.1.1.)

Most of the immigrant families kept the girls of school-going age at home to mind the house and care for their siblings and the aged members of the family while the mothers worked outside the home to supplement the family income. In the average or wealthier Indian homes the women kept the house while the menfolk were the breadwinners. This sexual division of labour appears to have had a domino effect: it made the Indian women economically dependent on their men for survival; this dependence was, probably, one of the more important reasons for the early and compulsory marriage of the Indian girls (Pillay, 1967:181). The restricted economic role of the Indian women in turn limited their education (vide 2.2.1.1.).

Under severe financial constraint, the State prioritised free primary school education for White boys and girls. When the Education Commission of 1873-4 recommended the building of two high schools, one for each sex, in each of the two towns, Durban and Pietermaritzburg, the NCG shelved the plans for the girls' schools. Instead, the NCG found it convenient to discharge its responsibility by subsidising the private schools, which provided secondary education for the girls (Vietzen, 1980:48-49). Even when secondary schools were established at these centres, boarding accommodation could not be provided because of economic difficulties. Therefore the majority of the rural girls were deprived of secondary education (Atkinson, 1978:97). (vide 2.2.1.2.1) The rural girls' education suffered yet another setback - a shortage of teachers in the farm schools. Economic difficulties forced the teachers to migrate from the rural areas to towns where accommodation and job opportunities were readily available (ibid: 96-97).

The life of the colonists was one of economic survival. Being preoccupied with immediate economic problems, the White colonists showed marginal concern for their children's education. In fact they were forced to withdraw their children at an early age and put them into jobs. The sons worked with their fathers and the daughters undertook domestic duties or other menial jobs (Vietzen, 1980:45-6). The wealthy parents, on the other hand, sent their daughters to private schools and ladies' academies to receive secondary education. This education was not designed to train the girls for the job market, as the parents saw no need for their daughters to work. Instead they provided for their daughters a cultural or classical education for life in the upper class. Some of the rich people sent their daughters to finishing schools, particularly in the United Kingdom or Switzerland (ibid).

In pre-colonial times, the African women and the girls were more active participants in their own economy. They produced all the food on the farms. The men merely appropriated this production and the reproductive capacity (that is, the production of labour power) (vide 2.2.1.4.). The missionaries changed this order. They drew their

converts' children into the mission households where they served a kind of apprenticeship in the new material and ideological relationships involved in the Christian households and family life. At the missions the males were trained as agriculturalists and tradesmen and the females as housewives, mothers and domestic servants. While the children served their apprenticeship the parents received payments for their children's labour - five shillings per month for the boys and one shilling for the girls. The different prices set for the labour of the two sexes clearly reflect the different values ascribed to the roles of men and women. Upon completion of their apprenticeship, the girls were placed in households as domestic servants or in menial jobs to service the colonial economy (Meintjes, 1990:128-132). (vide 2.2.1.4.)

During the mineral and industrial revolutions the missionaries had to redefine the sex-roles of the Africans, as they had then to be drawn into the economy as labourers and consumers. The women's work consisted of both agricultural activity and domesticity defined in accordance with western culture and Christian doctrine (Majeke, 1986:68-69). The redefinition of women's role had a two-pronged beneficial effect on the colonial economy. Firstly, the agricultural food production helped to supplement the low wages paid to the African men on the mines and in the industry. Secondly, by restricting the women and children to the rural areas through the migrant labour laws, the Colonial State did not have to provide housing and other facilities for them in the cities and towns. (vide 2.2.1.4.)

Child-care in the African community usually devolved upon the young girls of school age. The mothers, being burdened with onerous workloads, left the toddlers in the care of these girls who had to take their charges along with them to school. The problems that this practice created seriously hampered the girl child's education and even threatened the existence of schools for the girls (Meintjes, 1990:138). To exacerbate the problem, the parents, even Christians, had reservations about sending their daughters to school because of the cost involved in terms of both the school fees and books and doing without the daughters' help at home (Hughes, 1990:206).

In African culture wealth was generally measured in terms of cattle (Guy, 1990:40-43). In most cases the demand for cattle was satisfied through the marriage of daughters. In the non-Christian communities this practice was most evident during the 1800's when these communities needed to build up their herds due to the introduction of the plough, the payment of taxes and the witchdoctors in cattle, the death of cattle through the rinderpest epidemic, the increase in agricultural activities and the insurance against uncertainty (Wood, 1972:11-12; Hughes, 1990:209-210). Cattle were also needed to conclude other marriage transactions. (vide 2.2.1.4.). One way of overcoming these problems was to

marry off their daughters. Economic stability to the African parents took precedence over their daughters' education (ibid).

The Coloured community was in the minority and any discrimination made in the labour market affected this small community adversely. The UG's policy of job reservation prevented the Coloured youths from entering most of the trades. Certainly many of the youths were employed but they were not trained for the jobs. The skills they gained through the 'on the job' training ultimately made them jacks of all trades (The Natal Mercury, 09/07/1937). The job insecurity, which the policy of job reservation engendered, made the parents apathetic about investing in their children's education.

In theory, all schools in the 1800's were open to all children but the Coloured parents of the lower economic class could not afford to send their children to State-aided schools because of the fees. To worsen the position, in 1894 a regulation was introduced to establish White Mission schools aided by the state, with higher grants than those applying to mixed mission schools which were common at the time (Ziervogel, 1937:67-8). It seems that through this dispensation the State manipulated the segregation of White and Coloured pupils at the mission schools.

Owing to the lack of means, very few Coloured parents were able to provide their children with a secondary education. Their education often terminated at Gr 7, after which they were made to do menial work in order to contribute to the family income. The girls were employed in factories or as domestic servants (The Natal Mercury, 24/10/1936). Under Ordinance No.23 of 1942, education was made compulsory for White and Coloured children (NPG, No. 1835, 13/08/1942, p. 941). Compulsory education for Coloured children was introduced up to Gr 8 in 1942 and up to Gr 10 in 1952 (Horrell, 1970:68). These changes could have kept the Coloured youth longer at school but it appears that success was limited. The regulations were largely unenforceable because education was not free (Horrell, 1970:20; Behr, 1984:239).

2.3. Girls' Education in Other Countries

Evidence shows that Natal education was influenced largely by the education systems, which existed in Western Europe and America. Not only were systems obtained in the countries discussed below imported wholly or partly into Natal, women teachers from these countries were also imported to teach the girls in the early days. It is believed that an overview of the development of education in the countries treated below would enhance the understanding of the education of females in early Natal. Since the Indians consist a sizeable proportion of KZN population, it is considered appropriate to include educational

developments in India.

2.3.1. Western Europe and America (1850-1970)

In 1850, primary education for girls, either in Western Europe or America was not an issue as both sexes were receiving more or less the same education (Peterson, 1971:151). Efficient secondary education for girls, on the other hand, scarcely existed and entrance to universities was barred to women altogether (ibid). Therefore, systematic higher education became an issue for the period under review.

2.3.1.1. America

For more than 200 years, there were no Govt girls' secondary schools or colleges in America. Private academies and the reformed seminaries, initiated by pioneers like Almira Phelps, were some the institutions that provided a more solid form of secondary education than their European counterparts (Curti, 1935:174). Only a small proportion of women, the elite, received education at home and the seminaries (ibid).

The American feminists were faced with the problems of getting secondary and university education for women, particularly in the Eastern States. In the mid-nineteenth century, the dominant thinking in Europe was that women's universities should be all-female institutions. The conservative Eastern States were influenced by this attitude as it was only here that such universities were established in the 1880's (Peterson, 1971: 152). In the Western States, where a higher value was placed on women's capacities, it was impossible to bar women from colleges on the grounds Mid-Victorian propriety (ibid: 154). Co-education was practised in secondary education before 1850 and State universities were open to women fully by 1870.

The influence of the West spread and decisions in favour of women's education commended themselves quickly to the American people. Industrialisation and political agitation gained women access to education (Oskamp & Costanzo: 1993:10). By 1900, the girls in the secondary schools outnumbered the boys and soon women teachers swamped the men teachers (Peterson, 1971: 155). In 1950, secondary education was entirely co-educational. The curriculum was largely undifferentiated except for 'girls' to subjects like domestic science, beauty culture and vocational courses in American high schools (Oskamp & Costanzo, 1993:10-11).

2.3.1.2. England

As in most of Europe, higher education in England began with the necessity for better teachers (Purvis, 1991:75). In fact England was the leader in Europe in the provision of secondary education for the girl child. There were the occasional girls' schools but the majority of the richer girls who received post-primary education did so at home from governesses or at ladies' academies or in the Roman Catholic community, in convents (Peterson, 1971:155).

The English convent education was used later to considerable extent by the Protestant parents. This system of education combined piety with domestic training in an act of strict discipline but it provided little general education. The objective of convent education was to produce good nuns or good wives. (ibid: 151) French influence on convent education was very strong (op cit.).

The young ladies' academies differed considerably from the boys' schools. The curriculum at the boys' school was solid and concentrated but the ladies' academies were more 'frivolous' and 'meretricious' (Purvis, 1991:5-8). This gap between these two systems made the development of joint co-educational high schools quite improbable. Even the development of the ladies' academies into girls' secondary schools proved to be very problematic (Peterson, 1971:156).

Activists like Emily Davies succeeded in persuading the Taunton Commission of 1865 to address the issues related to girls' secondary education (ibid; Purvis, 1991:73-5). The Commission recommended that a girls' school be established in every main town in the country using if necessary some of the finances earmarked for boys' schools where the girls could not be adequately accommodated. Thus a general system of secondary schools for girls was started (ibid). Through the Comprehensive Education Act of 1902, the Girls' County High Schools were established. But the real breakthrough for women's education came with the passing of the Education Act of 1944 (Byrne, 1978:12; Bouchier, 1983:33). The State gave women's education such attention that in a short time the numbers for boys and girls at secondary schools were approximately equal (ibid).

The general trend in England was the maintenance of single-sex secondary schools but a small appreciable number of them were co-educational. The co-educational schools were established on financial grounds where the numbers of secondary pupils were insufficient to justify separate schools (Kerr, 1960:110; Bell, Fowler and Little, 1973:153).

In 1920, the Board of Education Inquiry into the differentiation of boys' and girls'

curriculums recommended that the curriculum originally designed for university entrance examination be developed to include practical subjects such as domestic science for girls. This inevitably resulted in foregoing the conception of secondary education as the pre-university stage in the training of an elite (Peterson, 1973:161). The curriculums at the secondary schools were shaped to balance the pressures created by the examination system, the teachers, the parents and the local interests. The pupils wrote examinations that would qualify them for the GCE or the CSE. The candidates who wished to pursue higher education needed to take the GCE examination (Bell et al, 1973: 6).

The penetration of the universities by women was a gradual process. They were eventually admitted to full degrees at the University of London in 1878, Oxford University in 1920 and Cambridge University in 1848. The Welsh and Scottish universities admitted women by 1893 (ibid: 162). In 1973 there were 43 universities in Great Britain (of which 1 was in Wales and 8 in Scotland) including the Open University. The Open University is unique in many respects. It does not require formal academic qualifications for entry and it is a distance teaching university, with teaching methods based on a combination of television, radio, and other correspondence courses (ibid: 6). It would appear then that this university presents great opportunities for redress to previously disadvantaged people such as women.

2.3.1.3. The Other Parts of Europe

In the major part of Europe the examples of America and England were followed at varying intervals and extents. The chief deciding factors were the progress of the feminist movement and the influence of the Roman Catholic Church (Peterson, 1973:163). The Roman Catholic Church has never been a believer in secondary education for all children. This belief was clearly evident in countries with divided faiths like Canada or Holland. For example, in 1949, under the Protestant system in Canada, 25 percent of the boys and girls of appropriate age received secondary education but under the Catholic system only 17 percent boys and 6 percent girls had that opportunity (ibid). The Catholic Church's views on secondary education were that it should be reserved for the elite and that it was not suitable for the average girl (ibid).

2.3.1.3.1. Holland

There were three main types of secondary (grammar) schools: the gymnasia; the High Burgher Schools; the Girls' Secondary Schools (Kerr, 1960:93).

A ministry of education administered education. At the secondary schools the curriculums

ranged from five to six years. The High Burgher School curriculum led to the university. The Girls' Secondary Schools, with a five-year curriculum, were largely run by the Catholic institutions and some by municipalities. The curriculum comprised more languages and less science than the High Burgher Schools (ibid: 96).

State secondary schools were generally co-educational but the Catholic and Protestant schools were segregated. In fact, co-educational schools in the Catholic communities were quite rare. In 1973, for example, 95 percent of Protestant schools were mixed compared to 18 percent of the Catholic secondary schools (Peterson, 1971:163). In some municipalities there were both types depending on the outlook of the population.

2.3.1.3.2. France

Napoleon I had set a precedent by establishing a school for daughters of officers of the Legion of Honour but it did not develop into a national system. But, by the time of Napoleon III girls in France were as educated as the girls in England (Peterson, 1971:164).

A ministry of education was established to control education. State schools and independent schools provided education for the girls. A higher proportion of girls compared to boys attended the independent schools since most of them were convent schools (ibid). Non-church-going parents as well as anti-clerical parents sent their daughters to convent schools whereas they sent their sons to State schools. The independent primary schools educated about one sixth of all primary school girls (Kerr, 1960:147). At the end of primary school education, the girls proceeded to secondary school or left school with a leaving certificate equivalent to the English 'thirteen-plus' (ibid). Entrance into secondary school was until 1956 determined by examination but later an average mark was considered adequate (ibid: 149).

In 1881, the first secondary school was established, through the law of 1880, in Montpellier. Although the Ribot Commission of 1892 fostered the development of secondary education for girls in France, in 1930 there were only 59 399 girls receiving secondary education as opposed to 138 301 boys. In 1951, the boys still outnumbered the girls (ibid: 165). In the 1960's, the State secondary schools were of two main types - lycees and colleges. Girls were admitted to a large number of these institutions where training in categories such as teaching personnel for technical schools, leadership personnel and skilled work was given (Lewis, 1985).

At secondary schools segregation normally prevailed but there were mixed schools as well. The single-sex girls' schools had headmistresses and the boys' schools had

headmasters (Kerr, 1960:146).

2.3.1.3.3. Germany

The development of higher education for women in Germany came later than in France but once accepted it developed more rapidly. The Germans believed that the ideal was for women to be domesticated. Up to the 1900's, the only post-primary education open to girls was provided by the Municipal 'Higher Daughters Schools', where domestic skills and virtues were inculcated (Peterson, 1971:165). In 1896, privately educated girls were allowed to write boys' final examination but in 1899 the Prussian Ministry of Education was created to deal with girls' education, but it was only in 1908 that girls' secondary education was integrated into the Prussian system. According to the reorganisation, the girls were provided with a ten-year (6-16 years) course, after which they could attend *Frauenschule* for domestic education or the *Studienanstalt* for an academic education. The latter category of girls could have been admitted to university (ibid).

In the 1960's education was compulsory throughout Germany for children aged 6-18 (Kerr, 1960:77). From the primary school, the children proceeded to three types of secondary schools, namely, the *gymnasia*, the *Realschulen* or the *Mittelschulen*. The curriculums at these institutions ranged from six to nine years. Mainly girls attended the *Mittelschulen* with a three-year commerce-bias curriculum. Generally, the *Volkschulen* were co-educational and the *gymnasia* were segregated but in the cases of the *Realschulen* and *Mittelschulen*, some were co-educational and some single-sex institutions. The middle class parents did not favour co-educational institutions. Moreover, they wanted their children to be taught by university graduates (ibid).

Wastage at the secondary school level was high but the Germans took measures to circumvent it. They either allowed the students several chances or they restructured the curriculums offered in the different institutions. German universities admitted students on the strength of the *Arbitur*, an internal examination set by the *gymnasia* on a syllabus agreed upon and arranged for the whole country. The papers corresponded to the GCE levels (ibid).

University education for women began in 1900 (Peterson, 1971:165). After the First World War, the political importance of women was recognised and opportunities for girls to reach university improved. But after 1936, under the Nazis, higher education for women was strongly discouraged and every effort was made to enforce women to return to domestic life. (ibid: 166)

2.3.1.3.4. Russia

Russia shared the lead with England in women's education. In areas there were tiny but highly developed industries where a most advanced form of capitalism was found. Here among the Russian aristocracy was found the most modern educational practices. In this privileged class, boys and girls received primary education of any kind and a smaller proportion received secondary education since the time of Catherine II (Peterson, 1971:163).

The principle of universal education in a common school from the age of 7 to 17 was laid down in 1918. In 1958, three main types of school existed, the four-year, seven-year and ten-year schools. The first six years were primary school education given by trained general subject teachers and the last four years were secondary education given by graduate teachers (Kerr, 1960:48-49).

The Soviet schools were invariably co-educational in the 1960's, even gymnastics being done together. This was in accordance with the Communist tradition and within the general structure of Soviet society, a woman being employed in many jobs usually regarded as masculine in the West, e.g. bricklayer, engineer, ship's captain. Stalin made a brief experiment to segregate schools but it failed because of the objection from the teaching profession. However, a few have survived as segregated schools because of this experiment (ibid: 52).

In the 1960's, about 40 percent of the education budget in Russia was allocated to universities, technical institutions and other schools of higher education. Women were admitted to university courses at St Petersburg in 1869 (Peterson, 1971: 163).

2.3.2. India

Prior to the Vedic period, boys and girls received a minimum universal elementary education (Ambasht, 1994:115). In the later Vedic period, the Aryans denied the women the right to study the Vedas (Nath, 1995:80), thus effectively barring them from education. As the caste system became more rigid, education became more restricted. Manu, the Hindu law-giver, forbade women and Sudras (the lowest caste) to be taught the law and

religious observances (Murdoch, 1995:33-34). Only the higher castes had the privilege of receiving education, especially higher education (Ambasht, 1995:115).

The Moghul conquest of India exacerbated the problem. Gradually women were debarred from receiving education. Female education reached its lowest ebb during the Medieval period when the purdah system was strictly imposed. Women were secluded in their homes after puberty (Menon, 1995:346). But, learned men taught their wives and daughters at home (Murdoch, 1995: 33). The higher classes hired European and American women teachers to teach them in their zenanas. Soon the zenana teaching was undertaken by missionary women teachers and by 1881, there were 7 522 zenanas with 9 132 pupils (ibid: 70-71).

However, the Muslim system did not replace the Hindu system; instead both systems co-existed (Ambasht, 1994:116). Apart from poverty, child marriage or early marriage was the biggest barrier to girls' and women's education before 1930 (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:199). This custom withdrew girls from school at about the age of 10, just when they were most interested in their studies, and married them off (ibid: 200).

During the East India Company's rule in India, there were no State schools for girls (Nath, 1995:81; Kundu, 1995:144). Since women clerks and officers were not required for administrative purposes, it is probable that the Company did not need to educate women (Kundu, 1995:144).

Most of the girls' schools were run by private organisations. The Christian Missionaries - notably the Protestant Missionaries and the Church of England Mission Society - opened the first schools for girls in India and it is they who initiated the movement in every province (Kundu, 1995:144; Nath, 1995:82; Murdoch, 1995:34). During the nineteenth century, the missionaries made much greater efforts in the cause of women's education than anybody else (ibid). According to the Educational Dispatch of 1854, there were 626 girls' schools altogether (Kundu, 1995:144).

Since 1857 there was considerable State intervention in girls' education. Following the recommendation of the various Education Commissions, the State spent more money on girls' education (ibid: 145). There was a sharp rise in private efforts also. Between 1909

and 1917, secondary and tertiary education improved significantly. In 1917, the enrolment at secondary and tertiary institutions increased but most of the girls did not continue their studies for long (ibid). However, women's education showed significant development between 1917 and 1947 because of the economic and social impacts of the two world wars, and the influence of the Women's Movements in Europe and America and Gandhi's¹² National Movement (ibid). The Govt appointed the National Committee on Women's Education in 1958 and National Council for Women's Education in 1959. These bodies urged the Govt to prioritise women's education by: funding education entirely; training women teachers; establishing hostels to accommodate rural girls at secondary and tertiary institutions; enticing educated women to uplift rural people with allowances etc (Nath, 1995:84-86). Girls' education showed a marked improvement.

A distinct four-phase system of education developed: pre-primary education; primary education; secondary education; and tertiary education. There are no large-scale facilities in India for pre-primary education (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:164). As most of the pre-primary schools were privately run, the people in the lower income groups could not afford to send their children there (ibid).

The primary school stage was the first level at which concentrated effort was made on a nation-wide scale to tackle the educational problems of the country. In 1950, there were 203 011 primary schools in the whole country and these included 13978 girls' schools (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:170). Most of the primary schools were co-educational and about 75 percent of the girls attended boys' schools. Wastage was a serious problem at the primary school stage. For example, out of a total of about 4.2 million girls in Class I in 1945-46, only about 1.6 million reached Class IV in 1948-49 (ibid). When compulsory education was introduced there was resistance from economically deprived parents who relied on their children's earnings.

In the 1800's, the primary school curriculum consisted mainly of religious instruction. The Muslim girls were taught to read the Koran. After 1936, a more universal curriculum was introduced. There was no differentiation in the syllabuses prescribed for boys and girls except domestic science for the girls and subjects such as carpentry and gardening for the

¹² Gandhi, M.K.: Indian religious and political leader in SA and India; campaigner for human rights, believed in non-violence (DSAB, 1972:251).

boys (Siqueira, 1995:339).

In 1949-50, there were 19 705 secondary schools in India, of which 2 607 were for girls. The duration of the secondary studies varies from four to seven years. On 1 March 1950, there were 700 000 girls enrolled at secondary schools as opposed to 3 700 000 boys (ibid: 179). Generally speaking, there was no difference in the curriculum prescribed for girls and boys. A wide range of subjects was offered, including the vernacular languages and English and the pupils selected their courses of study. However, most girls' institutions failed to offer subjects such as sciences and mathematics (Sharma & Sharma, 1995:42).

In spite of the developments, girls' education tended to lag behind that of boys. For example, in 1950-51, about 25 percent of the girls were in primary schools as against 60 percent of the boys. In 1965-66, this proportion increased to 62 percent and 90 percent respectively. Although there was an increase in the girls' enrolment at secondary schools from 1951 to 1961, the retention in Classes IX - XI was less than one-fifth of that for boys (Kundu, 1995:149).

However, with time, the education of girls expanded and improved. Women were admitted to all universities in India. Co-education was not an important issue, especially at the secondary and tertiary levels, as the large majority of the girls did not get there. Interestingly enough, the Indians established the S. N. D. T. Women's University, exclusively for women in 1916. Here higher education was provided for women in the modern languages, courses were designed to satisfy the needs and requirements of women and training for primary and secondary teachers was provided (Joshi & Shukla, 1955:188-189).

As late as 1986 the enrolment and/or retention rate for girls especially at the secondary and tertiary levels was low due the economic, academic and social factors. The Non-Formal Education was introduced in 1978. From the Indian perspective it was delimited to achieving universal elementary education. Centres were opened to harness the out-of-school children and provide an education comparable with that of formal elementary schools (Ambasht, 1994:130). The lack of resources is a serious problem. Moreover, these have had limited success because they have, as late as 1994, failed to rope in girls and the low castes (ibid: 131).

2.4. Review

The education of the females prior to the 1960's suffered many setbacks ranging from the negative attitude of the parents, the govts and the public to the under-investment and general apathy. All initiatives taken to provide education for the colony's children appear to have been defined with the males in mind; the females were merely accommodated in these initiatives and they were required to adapt. According to Vietzen (1980), the media, the custodian of democracy, appear to have failed to challenge this one-sidedness. The missionaries who represented the most enlightened sector of colonial society nevertheless, changed this attitude towards the females' education. They pioneered real education for the females in all of the communities of the colony. The missionary thinking was that it served no purpose to educate the men and then marry them to uneducated young women. This ideology received the support of administrators such as Grey and Shepstone. This support added impetus to educational initiatives of the missionaries. Educating the females proved beneficial to both the church and the state: the enlightened women facilitated the spreading of the gospel especially in the African communities and the skilled girls provided cheap labour for the colonial economy.

Secondary education for the girls received marginal support from the different govts until the 1930's. There were several reasons for this. The main reasons were: the govt had no funds to assume complete responsibility; since a large number of primary schools had expanded the curriculum to include secondary school subjects, the govt considered the establishment of special secondary schools unnecessary; the public boys' schools were adequate to absorb the girls; some parents, especially the Blacks, did not favour a secondary education for their daughters while the others, the Whites particularly, preferred secondary education for the girls to be left to private initiatives. However, the leading secondary school for African girls was the Inanda Seminary that opened in 1869. This was, however, a missionary initiative. Govt initiatives for secondary education for White, Coloured and Indian girls were taken only in the early 1900's. The real growth in girls' education took place when the UG took over education in 1910. The implementation of the Group Areas Act added impetus because large secondary schools were built in the dormitory suburbs. This, added to the introduction of compulsory education for the White, Coloured and Indian children, made the girls remain longer at school. There is no evidence

of education ever being made compulsory for Africans. On the whole, secondary education for girls appears to have developed to satisfy the need for more and better women teachers.

Tertiary education was started with the opening of the UN in Pietermaritzburg in 1910. Fifty-seven White students only were admitted. However, in 1936, Mabel Palmer opened university classes for Africans, Coloureds and Indians at Sastri College. Of the 11 students who enrolled, only one was a female (an Indian). The number of students increased with the establishment of UNIZUL in 1961 and UDW in 1971, with 6 and 11 women students being enrolled in the year of inception, respectively.

Girls in all the communities very well supported technical education, which was started in the 1800's for the African girls and in the 1900's for the girls of other race groups. It provided training for jobs in the domestic, clerical and clothing fields that were generally regarded as women's jobs. Furthermore, these skills afforded the females, especially the Black females, quick access to income. Impetus appears to have been given to the establishment of the technikons to teach technical skills, which resulted in the economy being driven by a large contingent of cheap female labour.

Evidence at hand reveals that there was a strong link between girls' education in the West and India, and the KZN. Firstly, girls' education was curtailed because of Victorian prudery in England and America and the purdah system and the practice of early marriage in India. The KZN parents also withdrew their girls from schools at an early age either to marry them off or provide private education for them. Later, they like their European and Indian counterparts, demanded for single-sex schools for the girls. Secondly, child labour affected the British, Indian and KZN children's education, as they were required to work because of poverty. Although the British children were liberated in the 1800's and the KZN much later, the children of India are still subjected to this labour practice. Thirdly, as was the case in the West and India, secondary education for the girls grew out of the necessity for more and better women teachers. Fourthly, emanating from the domestic ideology of Victorian England, America, India and KZN, the girls' school curriculums were designed with the notion of the 'good wife and good mother' in mind. Fifthly, although the KZN (White) women were liberated just after the British and American women, they nevertheless lagged far behind in terms of receiving higher and university education. For example, the women in the West received tertiary education in the 1880's

but the women in KZN and India only received this in 1910 and 1917 respectively. However, the KZN Black women began receiving university education 1930 and it gained momentum only in the 1970's.

CHAPTER 3

KZN Women into Teaching

3.1. Introduction

In the pre-industrial period, most teachers, universally and certainly in South Africa, were males (MacQuarrie, 1970). Evidence at hand shows that in the two dominant KZN communities, namely the Indian and the African, teaching was a male dominated profession. For example, in 1948, in Indian education only 20 percent of the teachers were women (Rambiritch, 1955:167) and according to Hartshorne (1992:226-232) the greater proportion of teachers in African education were men. The position now is different, as more women have been entering the profession since the 1960's. This chapter provides some insights into the 'silent' revolution that has taken place in the teaching profession.

3.2. The Pioneer Teachers

In the early days, the KZN children were taught by the parents and elders informally in family and community settings. (vide 2.2.1.1.) But with the advent of formal educational provision in KZN, other agents such as 'quack' teachers, missionary teachers and fully trained professional teachers had to be recruited to deliver education.

3.2.1. The Early Local Teachers

3.2.1.1. The Sieckentrooster Meester or the Sick-comforter

The first type of teacher that taught the South African children was the Sieckenrooster or Sick-Comforter (Malherbe, 1925:28; Foster-Smith, 1955:373). The sieckenrooster had two main duties: to visit the sick and teach the children in the Cape Dutch Religious education system which began in the time of Van Riebeeck¹. At the beginning of the DEIC rule, the sieckentrooster meesters were imported from Holland and the first of such

¹ Van Riebeeck : First Dutch Commander at the Cape (1652-1662); established Dutch settlement at the Cape, imported slaves to meet labour needs (DSAB, 1972:798-804)

persons was Willem Barend Wylant (Malherbe, 1925:46-47). The sieckenrooster meesters were responsible for running little schools that sprang up in Cape Town and the villages of Stellenbosch and Paarl around 1683 (ibid: 29). These teachers also taught the Hottentot children to read and write, with the objective of converting them to Christianity (Behr, 1952:68). The sieckenrooster meesters were highly respected because of their church background (Malherbe, 1925:37).

3.2.1.2. The Itinerant or Vagabond Teacher

The sieckenrooster meesters were unable to meet the needs of rural communities as they functioned mainly in the more populous centres. A new way of providing schooling in the rural areas had to be found. Therefore, the inhabitants of the outlying areas had to contribute towards hiring the services of teachers who taught their children in transitory schools. These teachers were hired for six or twelve months and when their contracts expired they moved off to other areas. In this way a new type of schoolmaster - the itinerant or vagabond schoolmaster-evolved (Malherbe, 1925:36-37). These men were usually the ex-servants of the DEIC, who possessed some rudimentary learning but many were very limited in knowledge and unsatisfactory in merit and manners. These teachers were generally not respected because of their poor reputation. Being poorly paid, they were permitted to do odd jobs such as shoe-making, coffin-making, gardening and tax collection to supplement their income (ibid: 36-37,46-47).

But, the itinerant teachers were a very important part of the teaching force in the rural areas in the early nineteenth century. In Natal, for example, between 1837 and 1850, the Dutch farmers and the Voortrekkers relied heavily on them to teach their children (Clark, 1975).

3.2.1.3. The Laagerskoolmeester

Whenever the Voortrekkers encamped for long periods they erected 'tent' schools where the children were taught by a laagerskoolmeester. This teacher was presumably a teacher who had accompanied the trekkers or some other member of the trek party who had sufficient education to teach the children (ibid).

3.2.1.4. The Slave Teachers

Some of the slaves who accompanied the Voortrekkers had a good education. Of course, the slave children were receiving public school education as early as 1658. As the DEIC wanted the slaves to learn the Dutch language and receive religious instruction; a public school was opened for them at the Cape on 17 April 1658 (Behr, 1952:69). It was probably the products of this schooling system that the Voortrekkers used to teach their children (Clark, 1975).

3.2.1.5. The Governesses

The governesses were trained celibate women teachers imported from abroad to teach the daughters of wealthy KZN Whites in their homes. As a British or a Continental background was considered a decidedly superior qualification, the British settlers imported governesses from England, Scotland and the Continent (Vietzen, 1998). The services of this type of teachers were important in two respects. Firstly, the wealthy parents were averse to a public school education as they considered this type of education to be incompatible with their middle or upper class image. Secondly, it was difficult for girls in the country districts to commute to schools in the towns and therefore the parents were forced to keep the girls at home. The governesses filled the gaps. The contractual package included a salary and free boarding and lodging with the host family (hence the importance of celibacy) (Vietzen, 1980: 18-20, 48-9). (vide 3.3.1.4)

Interestingly, a large number of KZN Dutch farmers also hired governesses to teach their children. For example, in 1875, most of the Dutch farmers in the Greytown area had their children taught by governesses (Van Biljon, 1983). Quite often, the Dutch farmers paid the governesses more generous salaries (Clark, 1975). The governesses were sometimes called private tutors (Malherbe, 1925:364; Curtis & Boulwood, 1962:204).

3.2.1.6. The Missionary Teachers

In the early days most KZN schools were mission schools. The primary motivation for mission work among the Black people in KZN was evangelisation, especially of the Africans. The missionaries conceived the idea that one way of doing this successfully was

through education. They perceived an important conjunction between the church and school (McK Malcolm, 1934). Therefore, missions of every denomination found it necessary to open schools (Vietzen, 1980:70-1). In the absence of trained teachers, the missionaries themselves undertook to teach the children. In Indian education, for example, Rev Stott himself taught the little children in the day school and the youth and the adults in the night school which he started in Durban in 1868 (Maharaj, 1956:4). The missionaries were assisted by their wives and the women missionary teachers whom they imported from their mother countries until locally trained women teachers became available (Vietzen, 1980:70-71; Hartshorne, 1992:219-223; Meintjes, 1990:136-7). Rev Dr L. P. Booth brought two missionary teachers, Revs S. P Vedamuttu and J Nullathamby, from India to assist him (Du Plessis, 1965:365). (vide 3.4.3)

3.2.1.7. The Evangelist Teachers

As the number of mission schools increased the demand for teachers also increased. (vide 3.2.1.6) Therefore, the church missions set about training and employing teachers in large numbers (Van Wageningen, 1983:158). These teachers served a dual role: to teach the children and convert them to Christianity; to spread the gospel in the African community (Hughes, 1990:200). They, therefore, came to be called evangelist-teachers. Both men and women evangelist-teachers were trained at schools such as Mariannahill, Adams Mission, Inanda Seminary and Edendale. With time these evangelist-teachers constituted the most important component of the African teaching force in KZN (Hartshorne, 1992:218 -227). According to Behr (1952:216), Eva Bartel, from the Cape, was the first Black woman to be trained as an evangelist-teacher in South Africa.

3.2.1.8. Later Teachers

Other types of teachers such the Jeanne's teachers, monitorial teachers, pupil-teachers, and tutors evolved later when education became more formal. These teachers appear to have been the forerunners of the professional teachers. (vide 3.4.1. - 3.4.4.)

3.3. The Supply of Teachers

The supply of trained women teachers was and still is a universal problem. In KZN, as in all South Africa, the multi-cultural and multi-racial nature of the population and the segregationist policies of the State made the problem more complex. As a result, many problems had to be overcome in order to supply (women) teachers to the ever-increasing teaching establishments in the province.

3.3.1. Problems Related To The Supply Of Teachers

3.3.1.1. The Need For Trained Teachers

With the establishment of Natal as a British Colony in 1845, educational provision became largely formal. The main providers of education were the Govt, the church missions and the private institutions. Schools for the different race groups were established throughout the province and education became generally more structured and systematised. With the policies of expansion of primary education for the different race groups - Whites: Law 15 of 1877; Indians: Law 20 of 1878; Coloureds: Ordinance No. 2 of 1856; Africans: the Native Primary Education Law of 1883 - the demand for trained teachers increased tremendously (Naidoo, 1989:106; Nuttall, 1949:42; Behr, 1984:263). (vide 2.2.1.2.1.). The problem became more complicated when schools became more rigidly segregated on racial lines first under the UG in 1910 and again when Black education was expanded for Africans in 1953, Coloureds in 1963 and Indians in 1965. (vide 2.2.1.2.2. & 2.2.1.2.3.)

3.3.1.2. Status of the Teaching Profession

3.3.1.2.1. Teaching as a Profession

Before the mid-1800's, teaching was not recognised as a profession (Hillard, 1929; Orr, 1958). Only three occupations- that of clerics, lawyers and doctors- were recognised as professions (Omond, 1961). Education was generally defined in empirical terms but not as a science. Under this theory, anybody who possessed academic knowledge could teach (Orr, 1958). Consequently, a plan of professional preparation as for law or medicine was not available to separate teachers as a class (ibid; Hillard, 1929). Turner (1970) argues that

theorists such as Etzioni regard teaching as semi-profession along with social work and nursing. Turner appears to be convinced that this equation of teaching with the caring occupations makes it less of a profession.

However, Gounden (1985:11-13), Hansen (1960:300-2), Orr (1958) and Omond (1961) differ from Etzioni's theory. They argue that teaching is not the work of a layperson (amateur) but a professional. They set criteria for the attainment of professional status by the teacher. The consensus is that the teacher must: acquire specialised knowledge, skills and techniques through training; gain certification, job and economic stability; belong to a professional organisation which sets its own standards; grow as a teacher through continuous in-service training; exalt himself/herself by service rather than seeking gain. (vide 3.3.1.2.2)

3.3.1.2.2. Status of KZN Teachers

In KZN, as in all South Africa, the status of teachers was low. Educationally and morally, the teachers trained by or associated with religious bodies enjoyed high respect (Malherbe, 1925:36-37). But it was not so with most of the itinerant teachers. These teachers were themselves not properly educated and they were sometimes given terms of derogation such as 'vagabond teachers' (vide 3.2.1.2) or 'drifters' (Clark, 1975). Omond (1961:528) presents an ambiguous picture: "The teacher is usually not an organic member of the society he serves. He is a passing citizen, a missionary at best, a tramp at worst." But, the Dutch farmers, because of the scarcity of teachers of Dutch during the Depression of 1870, had to hire even the 'drifters' - men who looked for a place to rest for a few months (ibid). All the teachers were paid low salaries and some of the 'drifters' were even prepared to accept boarding and lodging instead of fees (Steenkamp, 1938, Clark, 1975).

There was a perception in KZN White education that the domination of teaching by the women has lowered the status of the profession (Leeman, 1973). Turner (1970) reaches a startling conclusion that because teaching is a predominantly female occupation its status as a profession is reduced. (vide 3.3.1.2.1) Omond (1961) asserts that the feminisation is a disability to the profession.

3.3.1.3. Shortage of Teachers

The shortage of teachers has always been a serious impediment to the education of the girls in all KZN communities. This section reveals the many factors that affected the availability of women teachers in KZN; that the shortages were relative to the peculiar needs in each community.

3.3.1.3.1. Factors Responsible for the Shortage

3.3.1.3.1.1. Wastage

Wastage was the most important factor related to the shortage of women teachers (Cameron-Ford, 1950). In all communities, most of the girls had to leave school before they had reached the basic literacy level in the different periods under review because of the parents' attitude. Therefore, they were generally academically inadequate to qualify as teachers. Moreover, even if some of them did have higher education, as did the girls in the White and Indian communities, most parents were against careers for their daughters (Rambiritch, 1955:165; Vietzen, 1980:227-229; Osman, 1975:5). The girls who were permitted to work often entered occupations which did not require further education (training) and yet were often more lucrative than teaching (Cameron-Ford, 1950). (vide 3.3.1.3.5.) Furthermore, the domestic and family-building roles pre-occupied most educated women, leaving them with little time or scope to enter the teaching profession.

Marriage was and to some extent still is a major factor, which adversely affect women's tenure as teachers. Resignation, breaks in service and absence are more common among married women (MacQuarrie, 1970). Although married women are perceived to be better suited to teach the adolescent boys and girls, their charges, nevertheless, suffer from consequent discontinuity (ibid). Therefore, until the mid-1980's, women teachers gained temporary status upon marriage. In times of financial crises, these temporary women teachers were the first ones to be retrenched and made to join a 'reserve teacher pool' from which they were re-employed if and when they were needed (Van Biljon, 1983). On the other hand, some women opted to sever their links with education for as long as ten years for family-building purposes. Some chose to return to teaching only when their last child was at school (Venter, 1977; Gericke, 1983:140); and some did not return at all, opting instead for other less-exacting, flexi-time jobs. Furthermore, as far back as 1923 women

teachers had the option to retire at age 55, ten years ahead of men (Coates, 1923, Mentor, 1971,53(34)). These factors resulted in productive women teachers being lost to teaching, albeit, for varying periods. The cumulative result of the wastage has impacted negatively on female education in KZN.

3.3.1.3.1.2. Division Of Labour

3.3.1.3.1.2.1. Socio-cultural Division of Labour

Universally, teaching is perceived to be women's work. But in the pre-industrial period, the majority of the teachers in most countries, and certainly in South Africa, were men (MacQuarrie, 1970). In KZN, this was evident in the two dominant communities - the Africans and Indians. (vide 3.1) In the Indian community, for example, there were 57 women and 350 men teachers in 1932 and in 1954 these numbers increased to 384 and 1570 respectively (Rambiritch, 1955:170-1). In these communities teaching was a middle class occupation. As the Indian and African parents believed in the empowerment of the male children, it appears that their sons were given the higher education to become teachers (Rambiritch, 1955; Shayi, 1996). Most of the men with higher education in these communities became teachers for the following reasons: it was the only opportunity of a professional nature open to them until the late 1960's (Van Rensburg, 1974); it was considered to be a relatively well paid job to enable them to climb the social ladder, especially in depressed times (McCrystal, 1972); until recently teaching was a high status occupation in these communities (Van Rensburg, 1974). The predominance of men teachers had skewed the men-women balance, creating the situation where the shortage of teachers meant the shortage of women teachers.

On the other hand, in the Coloured and White communities, the men-women balance appears to have been skewed in favour of women teachers. The men generally avoided the teaching profession because of its low pay and status (Vietzen, 1998; Domingo, 1998). So, in these communities teacher shortage really meant the shortage of men teachers.

3.3.1.3.1.2.2. Sexual Division of Labour

Within each of the KZN communities, sexual division of labour in education seems to have been a significant cause of teacher shortage, only surpassed by the wastage factor.

Administratively, the single-sex schools, found mainly in the Indian and White communities, presented a serious problem because most of the parents insisted on their daughters being taught by women. Until the late 1960's women teachers were generally in short supply. When shortages did occur the education authorities attempted to solve the problem by recruiting women teachers from overseas, although qualified men teachers might have been available locally. In the Indian community, when women teachers were unavailable the girls were often withdrawn from school (Naidoo, 1967:16). (vide 3.3.1.3.1.2)

In mixed school settings, primary schools were staffed by mainly women, as, with their caring and nurturing qualities, they were considered to be better suited than men to handle the younger children. The secondary schools were staffed mostly by men because of their higher qualifications and ability to control the students. The sexual division of labour between the primary and secondary schools was, psychologically and sociologically, so distinct and sometimes so rigid that crossing the barrier was very difficult. For example, if there were vacant posts in the primary schools, the men, especially from the White high schools, would have been reluctant to transfer to them as they considered primary school teaching to be women's work (Orr, 1958). On the other hand, if there were shortages in the secondary schools, the women would have been fearful of transferring to them because of their lower qualifications and, more importantly, their lack of self-confidence and their social stereotyping to avoid male-dominated areas (Shayi, 1996:54). The sexual division of knowledge also keeps men and women on their side of the academic divide. In the secondary schools especially, the curriculums are divided into 'male' subjects and 'female' subjects (Ponnusamy, 1995:170-1; Wyatt & Atkinson, 1992). This division is most pronounced in the technical subjects: the Industrial Arts e.g. Woodwork and Metalwork, were 'male' subjects and Domestic Science was a 'female' subject (Ponnusamy, 1995:170-1). Whenever there was no teacher to teach a 'male' or a 'female' subject, a female teacher was normally not substituted for by a male teacher and vice versa. Behr (1952:393) cites such a situation in Cape Coloured education: "Sometimes when a Coloured woman's services are indispensable and she is not available, a White woman is employed even though a Coloured man is available."

3.3.1.3.1.2.3. Racial Division of Labour

The racial division of labour in education in South Africa probably had its beginnings at the Cape in 1676. When the DEIC opened separate schools for the Dutch and the slaves, even the teachers were chosen on racial lines (Behr, 1952:70).

From the colonial days in Natal to the 1950's, there was a grave shortage of Black women teachers. The root cause of this shortage seems to have been that the Black girls always had far less education and training than their White counterparts (Kotecha, 1994: 81-84). Furthermore, White education was in a more fortunate position as women teachers were imported periodically from Britain and Europe (Malherbe, 1925:195; Vietzen, 1998). (vide 3.3.1.3.1.4.1 & 3.3.1.3.1.4.2.2) It, therefore, stands to reason that the education authorities could have deployed White teachers to Black schools whenever the need arose. In fact, as early as 1917, the teachers in African teaching institutions had to be Whites who held certificates for specialised professional training (Loram, 1917:135). But, after 1948 the White teachers had become more concentrated in African high schools and Black colleges. The Govt's policy of strict racial segregation of education appears to have exacerbated the shortage of Black women teachers. Evidence for this can be found in Coloured education in 1970, for example. At the end of 1969, 122 White women teachers' services were terminated because they were at schools and colleges serviced by Coloured principals and inspectors, appointed presumably in the name of separate development. Many of these women had held key positions as teachers and lecturers of languages, Mathematics and Domestic Science. It transpired that suitably qualified Coloured women personnel could not be found to replace them; with the result that many of the retrenched White women had to be re-employed (Horrell, 1970:131-133). In this respect, shortage of teachers meant the shortage of women teachers of a particular race group. (vide 3.5.1 & 3.5.2)

3.3.1.3.1.3. Economic Factors

The most important factor affecting the supply of teachers in KZN even before colonial times was the economy. The earliest teachers, quite apart from the missionaries, were the itinerant teachers hired by the Voortrekkers and the Dutch farmers. (vide 3.2.1.2) However, the availability of these teachers, both in terms of quantity and quality, was unsatisfactory. Firstly, the supply was inadequate and erratic. Quite often these men taught only if other jobs were unavailable. Some of the teachers were paid with cattle and

many of these teachers abandoned teaching and turned to cattle farming as soon as they had built up large enough herds (Steenkamp, 1938). Secondly, some of these teachers were 'drifters' who stopped by merely to rest. They were generally ill-qualified and so down-and-out that they were prepared to teach for free boarding and lodging instead of a fee. (ibid; Clark, 1975). (vide 3.3.1.2.2.)

Between 1845 and 1893, the NCG did not train so many teachers to staff the growing number of schools in the Colony because it did not have the resources. It had to rely on voluntary organisations such as the church missions to supply the teachers. However, the Government discharged its obligation by subsidising the non-governmental institutions for training teachers (Vietzen, 1980:70). (vide 3.2.1.2.4.)

Because of the uncertainty and the need for economic survival in the early days of the Natal Colony, in all communities, few girls remained at school long enough to become teachers (Atkinson, 1978:97). Even when education for the girls was extended during the Industrial Revolution, many avoided taking teaching because other occupations were far more attractive. (vide 3.3.1.3.1.1.) Moreover, entry into these occupations directly after school was more beneficial to the girls for three reasons: they earned money immediately after leaving school; they were not subjected to unpaid training periods as trainee teachers were; they did not have to spend money on further education (Cameron-Ford, 1950). A large number of African girls opted to do nursing instead of teaching when the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was implemented (Wood, 1972:131). One reason for this choice probably is that trainee nurses are paid whereas teachers are not.

Before the expansion of rail transport in Natal (1893-1902), education developed very slowly as the movement of students and teachers was hampered (St Anne's Diocesan College Centenary Brochure, 1877-1977). (vide 3.2.1.5) To worsen matters, accommodation for teachers in the rural areas was scarce. Even if it was available, the poor pay was prohibitive to the urban teachers to establish themselves in the countryside while they kept their houses in the towns. In fact, because of the economic hardships at the time, many of the teachers migrated to the towns in search of better prospects (Atkinson, 1978:98).

3.3.1.3.1.4. Other Factors

3.3.1.3.1.4.1. Political

When Natal became a Crown Colony in 1845, the NCG followed a policy of anglicising the Boers (Malherbe, 1925:195; Clark, 1975). The urgency for and the strength of the British policy of Anglicisation are reflected in Sargant's² memorandum to Milner³ requesting for teacher recruits from Britain (ibid). Sargant said: " What we want here at present are women, thoroughly good teachers and of patriotic mind ... in order that they might teach the children of the burghers our language and our ideals...." (Quoted in Behr, 1952:335-336).

Anglicisation had to begin in the schools where the medium of instruction had to be English (Malherbe, 1925:9; Behr, 1952:335-6). More English teachers had to be employed for the Dutch teachers to be replaced wherever possible (Clark, 1975). But replacements were difficult to find, as qualified English teachers were unavailable locally. Although the different Govts of Natal had continually recruited teachers from Britain and Europe, the problem of teacher shortage at KZN White schools was never really solved due to the segregationist policies of the Apartheid State. Evidence shows that the recruitment of European teachers had continued into the 1980's.

In 1954, Verwoerd⁴ had the task of implementing the Bantu Education Act of 1953. As almost 60 percent of the African children were not at school, his main objective was to provide mass 'fundamental education'. This meant that the emphasis had to be on LP education (Grades 1-4) (Behr, 1984:81). But he was faced with the problem of shortage of teachers, especially LP teachers. The shortage of LP teachers is understandable because men were excluded from teaching this phase since 1935 (Brookes, 1936).

² Sargant, E. B. : Director of Education in the Transvaal from 1900 to 1905; believed English would be SA's sole language; imported teachers from all over British Empire to anglicise the population (DSAB, 1968:685-6).

³ Milner, A : British Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner in SA; noted for policies of British supremacy and anglicisation of SA; policies failed in the Transvaal; left SA in 1905 (DSA, 1977:613-7).

⁴ Verwoerd, H. F. : Minister of Native Affairs between 1950 and 1958; translated Eiselen Commission Report into Bantu Education Act(Act 47 of 1953), placed control of African Education under Native Affairs (DSAB, 1981:734-735).

3.3.1.3.1.4.2. Cultural Factors

3.3.1.3.1.4.2.1. The Culture of Seclusion and Protectiveness

The problem of teacher shortages was exacerbated by a culture of seclusion and protectiveness in the White and Indian communities, more especially among the Indians. Among the wealthier Whites it was strong economic and upper or middle class social factors that made the parents keep their daughters at home to lead a leisurely social life (Vietzen, 1980:80-90). The Indian parents, on the other hand, placed a very high premium on the chastity of their daughters. They did not generally allow them to go out to work as this would have meant mingling with other males in the workplace (Jithoo, 1975:23-24). Among the Muslims the *purdah* system laid greater restrictions on the girls (Rambiritch, 1955). (vide 2.2.1.1.) The curtailment of education effectively blocked the larger majority of girls from becoming teachers.

Even when the attitude of the Indian parents had begun to change somewhat in the 1950's, they were loathe to send their daughters to work and stay away from home. To add to this problem, suitable boarding accommodation for females was unavailable, especially in the rural areas; hence the serious shortage of women teachers there (Levine, 1962:362).

3.3.1.3.1.4.2.2. Preference for an English Education

Vietzen (1980:199-200) emphasises the fact that the Natal colonists wanted their children to receive a thoroughly English education of the kind available in Victorian England. (vide 2.2.1.3.) Therefore the colonists preferred teachers trained in the English tradition to teach their daughters.

The colonists' ideas of overseas teachers were similar to that of Sargent's (vide 3.3.1.3.1.4.2.1) and Bishop Grey's⁵. Bishop Grey was not in favour of all the teachers being trained locally. He contended that the importation of English trained teachers periodically would improve the quality of education as the recruits would bring new ideas

⁵ Bishop Robert Grey : First Anglican Bishop of Cape Town from 1861 to 1863; organised and structured Anglican Church and education; opened missions and schools for Africans and Malays at the Cape (DSAB, 1968:316-7).

from England (Behr, 1952:210, 1988:153; Behr & MacMillan, 1971:265). The craving of the Natal education system for the influence from England seems to have somewhat stymied the training of White teachers in KZN, with the result that White education relied on overseas recruits until 1980's.(vide 3.3.1.3.1.4.2.1)

3.3.1.3.1.4.3. The Lack of Free and Compulsory Education

Education in Natal was segregated from the 1870's and it was neither free nor compulsory for all race groups. Even when it became compulsory after 1910, it was largely unenforceable, especially in the Black communities, as it was not altogether free and there were many administrative problems with regard to enforcement (Behr, 1988:104-5). There is no evidence of education in the African community ever being compulsory or even totally free (De Villiers, 1967; Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977). The Govt's neglect in providing free and compulsory education appears to be the most significant factor for the shortage of women teachers in particular.

3.3.2. Intervention

Over the years Governmental and non-Governmental initiatives in KZN had adopted different strategies to overcome teacher shortages. The two main strategies were the importation and the recruitment of teachers from overseas and the training of teachers locally.

3.3.2.1. Recruitment

Recruitment of teachers for the Colony's schools was done on three fronts: enlisting qualified teachers locally and overseas, recruiting local youths to be trained as teachers and employing married women, retirees and retrenched teachers (Malherbe, 1925:195; Barrett, 1965).

3.3.2.2. Employment Of Qualified Teachers: Overseas Recruitment

When the church missions opened schools in Natal around 1837, teachers were not available to staff these adequately. So, as an emergency measure, the different

denominations had to import teachers from their mother countries (Vietzen, 1980:130-2; Meintjes, 1990:136-7). (vide 3.2.1.6)

When the Cape and the Transvaal became Crown Colonies in the 1800's, the British governors intent upon Anglicisation, recruited English men and women teachers from all over the British Empire. Bishop Grey and Sargant, for example, argued of the importation of English teachers. (vide 3.3.1.3.1.4.2) Evidence at hand shows that when Natal became a Crown Colony, the NCG had taken the same route. According to Malherbe (1925:195), the educational practices in Britain had greatly influenced Natal as the NCG had imported nearly all its teachers from England and Scotland.

On the contrary, some African parents, at Edendale for example, were critical of women teachers imported from abroad in the 1860's. Many of them preferred African teachers trained locally by the ABM to teach their children (Meintjes, 1990:139). Before the 1930's the women teachers required to teach Indian girls had to be imported from Britain, India and Mauritius.

The first Indian woman teacher to come to Natal from India was Ms S. P. Vedamuthu (Rambiritch, 1955:150; Pillay, 1967:176; Singh, 1987:7). (vide 3.2.1.6) But Coloured women teachers required to teach in Coloured schools were imported from the Cape (Horrell, 1970:70; Stock, 1998).

However, the recruitment of teachers from abroad had limited success because of the low salaries, unsatisfactory conditions of service and the uncertainty in a new country (Behr, 1952:337; Cameron-Ford, 1965).

3.3.2.3. Recruitment of Teacher Trainees

As overseas recruitment had always had minimal success, there was therefore the need to train teachers locally. Sargant argued that 'the training of teachers lies at the root of all the best growth of education....' (quoted in Behr 1952:335). Although the church missions were training teachers, the State and the private sector had to intervene because the demand for teachers outstripped the supply.

To attract recruits for the teacher training institutions, the authorities worked out various strategies. Firstly, the entrance qualifications of the girls were lowered. For example, in the 1870's, Indian girls who had passed Gr 6 were recruited as teacher trainees (Rambiritch, 1955:149-150; Gounden, 1985:15). Progressively the entrance qualifications were raised. Secondly, the training period was generally shortened to two years. Thirdly, various methods of training were adopted. In the 1950's teacher training in African education, for instance, was really an extension of secondary school education. It was considered that the expansion of secondary education would yield more and better teachers (MacMillan, 1958). First, the monitor system and then the pupil-teacher system were used to train teachers. These systems were beneficial in three respects: they produced teachers relatively quickly; trainee teachers received income; they were cost-effective (3.4.1. & 3.4.2.)

As the racial division of labour in education gathered momentum after 1910, the shortage of women teachers in each community became more acute. New measures were implemented to attract recruits: loan bursaries for boarding were granted; transport and books were provided; hostel accommodation was established near colleges; salaries and conditions of service for teachers were improved (Behr, 1952:358; Atkinson, 1978:208). In 1954, as Verwoerd had to train a large number of African teachers, the Govt opened fewer but very large teacher training institutions for greater economy. After 1960, training colleges were separated from primary and secondary schools and a greater proportion of women teachers were trained at these institutions to teach mainly in the primary schools (Hartshorne, 1992:235-237). (vide 3.3.1.3.1.4.1)

3.3.2.4. Re-employment of Married Women, Retirees and Retrenched Teachers

The continuing shortage of women teachers prompted the education authorities in Natal to re-employ married women, retired and retrenched teachers. For example, from 1910 to 1965 the NED continually employed in addition to married women teachers who had left the service, pensioners and people with some other professional experience to teach (Cameron-Ford, 1965; Barrett, 1965). The administrators of Coloured education also re-employed married women teachers. As an incentive, they offered to employ these women on a 'temporary permanent' basis, subject to a three months notice of termination in place of a twenty-four hour notice (Horrell, 1970:131).

3.3.2.5. Other Strategies

Various ad hoc steps were taken to solve the problem of teacher shortages from time to time. Some of the strategies are reviewed.

Teachers who had low qualifications were employed. In White education, for instance, in the 1880's holders of the lower-Gr certificates but who were fairly competent were allowed to teach in the rural areas. However, the condition was that these certificates were valid for one school only. A case in point was a Mr P Kelly, who, in 1882, received such a certificate for his Evening School in Pietermaritzburg (Natal Blue Book, 1882: U13). Furthermore, unqualified women teachers were used to teach in single-teacher farm schools (ibid). About 65 percent of these women teachers were the mothers of the children (Nuttall, 1949:67).

To maximise the use of the limited number of teachers at African schools, the classes were compressed, resulting in high teacher-pupil ratios. For example, in 1978 the ratio was 1: 48 (Behr, 1988:42). In addition, the state adopted the platoon system at many Black schools. In the African institutions where this system was implemented, two sessions of three each were run. The same teachers taught the classes in both sessions in some African platoon schools (Behr, 1984:175-176; Tshabalala, 1977; Stock, 1998). There is no evidence of these teachers receiving extra remuneration for the double shift.

Teachers from one Gr of schools were redeployed to other areas. For example, when the universities were unable to supply an adequate number of secondary school teachers after the 1960's, primary-trained teachers employed at primary schools were redeployed to secondary schools. (Behr, 1988:173). (vide 3.4.9)

Since 1955 the NED had considered raising the pensionable age of teachers to 65 years to overcome the acute teacher shortage in White education. Consequently, the retiring age was raised and all male and female teachers appointed on or after 1 January 1958 had to retire at the end of the year in which they attained the age of 65 years for men and 60 years for women (Schoerie, 1981:78). (vide 3.3.1.4.1.1)

3.4. Some Teacher Training Systems

Teacher training on a formal and organised basis is a relatively recent development (Behr, 1988:151). This section is an expedient to show that although the present day systems of teacher training were quite different to the systems used since 1845, yet they evolved from the older systems imported into the mission schools and other private and Govt institutions.

3.4.1. The Monitorial or the Madras System

The monitor teachers were usually the older pupils who were selected and trained to assist the teacher with large numbers to teach, generally in a one-teacher school (Behr, 1984:254). It was a simple expedient using the older pupils to teach the younger ones to circumvent teacher shortages (ibid; Dent 1961:18). The number of monitors depended on the size of the school. The work was divided and the monitors were assigned specific tasks each day. Each monitor was instructed by the master on the lessons he/she had to teach for the day. The pupils were separated into boys' and girls' at the same schools (Curtis & Boulwood, 1962:11).

The monitorial system of teacher training was started by Andrew Bell⁶ at a military orphanage in Madras in the 1790's (Behr, 1952:204). As one of the teachers refused to carry out a task, Bell called upon a senior pupil to assist him. This pupil performed so well as a teacher that Bell decided to experiment with the idea and develop it into a system to train teachers (Armytage, 1964:90). He initiated a scheme by which a school could be run by a single teacher with the assistance of a number of monitors. In 1805, Joseph Lancaster⁷ started training monitor teachers in England.

The monitorial system spread to many parts of the world. By 1819 a large proportion of school children in England and Wales were receiving instruction on the monitor plan (Behr, 1952:204) As this method of teaching meant the employment of very few teachers,

⁶ Bell, A : Lecturer and Chaplain to Military Orphan Asylum in Madras, India, (1787-1795); discovered Monitorial method of teaching in India and developed it in England (Curtis, 1957:206; Curtis & Boulwood, 1964:9-10).

⁷ Lancaster, J : Born teacher, opened schools and a teacher training college in London; discovered and improved on Monitorial method with Bell from 1798 (ibid, 206-8; 7-9)

it was a way of providing elementary education at an extremely cheap rate (Dent, 1961:18; Curtis & Boulwood, 1962:10-12)). Soon it spread to other schooling systems such as the public and grammar schools (ibid).

Moreover, it was introduced at the Cape by Cradock⁸ in 1813, when he started a system of free schooling for the poor on lines of the English mass education system (Behr, 1971:264, 426). The monitorial system was extended and developed at the Cape by the Rev. Robert Jones⁹. It was adopted and used by the mission schools in the other provinces until it was replaced by the pupil-teacher system (ibid).

3.4.2. The Pupil-Teacher System

The pupil-teachers were apprentices to the art of teaching. They were selected on merit, age and qualification to teach the younger pupils in the same school. The pupil-teachers fulfilled two role functions : they taught their charges in the morning and in the afternoon they were themselves taught by a mentor, usually the headteacher (Malherbe, 1925:96; Behr, 1988:152-3; Hartshorne, 1992:221-2).

The pupil-teacher system of teacher training originated in Holland around 1816 (Peterson, 1971:222-3). Kay-Shuttleworth¹⁰, who found the monitorial system to be a failure, modified it and developed it into the pupil-teacher system in England. In 1846, he established a training school at Battersea, London, to train pupil-teachers (Armytage, 1964:114-5).

This system of teacher training was introduced at the Cape by Langham Dale¹¹ in 1859 and

⁸ Cradock, J. F. : British Governor of Cape Colony from 1811 to 1814; education was one of many reforms, growth of White and Coloured schools (DSAB, 1972:148-150).

⁹ Jones, R : Anglican priest and educationist; Military chaplain at the Cape (1811-1814), tutor to Governor Cradock's son; improved the Garrison and civilian schools at the Cape (DSAB, 1987:390-1).

¹⁰ Kay-Shuttleworth, J : Physician, believed cholera epidemic in Manchester resulted from people's ignorance; concentrated on education of the poor; Secretary of the Committee of the Privy Council for Education (1834-1849); discovered and developed the pupil-teacher system (Curtis & Boulwood, 1964:58-63)

¹¹ Dale, L : Second Superintendent- General of Education at the Cape from 1859 to 1892; developed higher education and teacher training; followed policy of anglicisation, fervently encouraged English as medium of learning in schools (DSAB, 1968:201-204).

in Natal in 1874 by Robert Russell¹² (Pells, 1938:69; Frost, 1979: 18; Hartshorne, 1992: 221).

It was implemented in Natal schools on 1 January 1878 (St Anne's Centenary Brochure, 1977:2). According to Vietzen (1980:108-9) the pupil-teacher system was first used in Natal at the St Mary's College in Richmond where the older White girls were trained to teach the other girls in the same school.

The system was widely used in the Govt and mission schools to train teachers. Intelligent, older pupils of good character were apprenticed at the age of 13 for three or five years to their own schools. Here they taught other pupils during normal school hours and were themselves taught after school hours by the mentor what they had to teach their charges the next day. This exercise provided training in methods of teaching and advancement in academic work. Later Teachers' Centres were established to prepare the candidates for the teachers' certificate examination (Behr, 1988:153-4).

The admission qualification requirements underwent several changes. Until 1894, Gr 6 was the requirement but it was raised to Gr 7 in 1899; Gr 8 in 1901; Gr 9 in 1909; then Gr 10 in 1920 (Malherbe, 1925:96). The pupil-teachers had to pass the examination for the ETC after three years of apprenticeship and for the MCC after five years. This method of teacher training was very popular in expanding elementary education in Natal until it was abolished in 1920 (Behr, 1952:210-217; Vietzen, 1980:108; Natal Blue Book, 1875 p 14).

In White education the pupil-teacher system was replaced by full-time teacher training at the Natal Training College in 1918 (Frost, 1979: 18). But, in African education it appears to have continued well into the 1970's, because as late as 1966 pupil-teachers were present in the system and 65 percent of them were women (State of SA Yearbook, 1967:108).

However, the pupil-teacher system did not completely solve the problem of teacher shortage. Being part-time teachers and part-time students was a hard life for the pupil-teachers. Therefore, many fell by the wayside; only the fittest survived (TAB, 1949;

¹² Russell, R : Superintendent Inspector of Schools (1875-1894) and Superintendent of Education (1894 -1903) in Natal; great expansion of primary and secondary education during his superintendency (DSAB, 1981:527-8).

Lowndes, 1970:20). The pupil-teachers were paid a small remuneration which was useful to poor youngsters to further their education. But pupil-teachers were not always available because of the poor pay (Singh, 1987:6; Curtis & Boulton, 1962). In Indian education, for instance, around 1872, the schools failed to attract enough young men to the profession because the pupil-teachers earned about five shillings per month whereas the railways and hotels were paying more (Singh, 1987:6).

3.4.3 The Jeane's Teacher System

The Jeane's teachers acted in the same way as the supervisors of Natal schools. The Jeane's teachers visited especially the rural schools to provide 'hands-on' training to the unqualified teachers and other programmes for the upliftment of the school and the community as a whole (McK Malcolm, 1928; Bowman, 1930).

The Jeane's teacher system of teacher training originated in the United States of America in 1908 (McK Malcolm, 1932, Kunene, 1946). It takes its name after Miss Anna T Jeane, the sponsor of the project. The project itself was the idea of a Dr Frissell who received the funding from Miss Jeane (Kunene, 1946). The Jeane's teachers were selected and trained under the direction of the Jeane's Fund. Under the supervision of the County Superintendents, the Jeane's teachers visited the Negro rural schools in Southern States in America (McK Malcolm, 1928).

Under the auspices of the Jeane's Fund of America, the Jeane's teacher system was imported into Africa, beginning with Malawi and Kenya. It was introduced into Natal African education in the 1920's (Bowman, 1930). In addition to training teachers to improve their classroom practice, the Jeane's teachers provided training in agriculture, health and village industries to uplift the community at large (McK Malcolm, 1928). They trained the teachers to turn the schools into community centres where they, with the assistance of their spouses, taught the community the skills needed to improve the quality of life (ibid; Bowman, 1930). As the Jeane's schools were largely mission schools and the Jeane's teachers mostly mission servants, the Govt was therefore requested to appoint teachers with missionary sympathies (McK Malcolm, 1935).

3.4.5. The 'Home-Training' System

'Home-Training' refers to a qualification centring on school organisation and management, obtained in Britain - which was regarded as 'home' by the British settlers in Natal even until the 1950's (Vietzen, 1998). The Whites in Natal attached much importance and value to qualifications and training obtained in Britain. (vide 3.2.1.5.) Therefore, it was stipulated in Clause 15 of the Education Law of 1877, that no person who did not have 'home-training' and not in possession of a Privy Council Certificate could be appointed to the office of principal teacher in any Govt Model Primary School (Moran, 1982:2).

3.4.6. The Seminary System

Three well-known seminaries- Adams College (1853), the Inanda Seminary (1869) and the branch of the Wellington Huguenot Seminary in Greytown (1892) were established by the ABM (Scott, 1951; Du Plessis, 1965:304). The primary motivation in establishing these seminaries was the training of local men and women to assist the missionaries in their evangelical work (Scott, 1951). However, the missionaries had long perceived that there was an important conjunction between evangelisation and education. As Hughes (1990:199) asserts : "Education was the principal means of evangelisation." The missions concluded that teachers could play a dual role, that is, of teacher and evangelist simultaneously in the classroom (McK Malcolm, 1934). Therefore, they found the need to train African women teachers to teach in the mission schools existing throughout the reserves. Moreover, they took a cue from the Holyoke Seminary in America where it was believed that 'to educate women they had to train women teachers (Vietzen, 1980:130). Normal teacher training was started at the Inanda Seminary in 1900 and at Adam's College in 1908 (Atkins, 1921; Scott, 1951; Hughes, 1990:203). (vide 3.6.2.2) Of course, White women teachers were trained at the branch of the Huguenot seminary in Greytown in 1892. The seminaries at Wellington and Greytown, modelled on the lines of Holyoke Seminary, were regarded as important sources of trained White women teachers (Vietzen, 1980:130-1). (vide 3.6.3)

In earlier times, teacher training commenced generally after Gr 9. The seminaries were, therefore, perceived as substitutes for high schools and teacher training colleges (Van

Biljon, 1983)

3.4.7. The Training School System

The Cape Govt announced in 1874 that the ETC was inadequate as a requirement for appointment as a teacher and that a teachers' certificate was essential. In order to supplement and strengthen the pupil-teacher system, a training school was established by the DRC and Dept of Education at the Cape in 1878. Here the teachers were trained and prepared for the T3 and T2 certificate examinations (Behr, 1988:153-4). Evidence is the training school system had acquired the characteristic of a separate teacher training system only in Coloured education. In all other education departments, especially the African, the training schools were multi-purpose institutions (Van Rensburg, 1974). In Coloured training schools, men and women with Gr 10 education were admitted and trained for the LPTC qualification. Since 1958, these teacher training institutions were reserved exclusively for women (ibid).

In Natal, the transformation of the pupil-teacher learning centres to training schools was not so distinct. The training school system appears to have been regarded as an extension of the primary or secondary school systems as teacher training classes were attached to them.

When the State intervened in the training of teachers, training classes were created at Govt-aided and Govt schools. In White education, for example, the NCG passed Law 16 of 1877, which laid down that the Govt Model Schools at Durban and Pietermaritzburg train a proportion of teachers needed to staff the Natal White schools (NGG, No. 1679, 04/12/1877, pp.5-6). Pupil-teachers were placed at the Model Schools for an apprenticeship of four years (Behr, 1988:158). In the early twentieth century, training schools were established at the major secondary schools : at Durban Girls' High School and Pietermaritzburg Girls High School for Whites; at Sastri College (1931) and Mitchell Crescent Girls' High School for Indians; at Umbilo Road High School (1924) and Bechet Secondary School (1955) for Coloureds (Vietzen, 1980; Behr, 1971; Van Rensburg, 1974). (vide 3.2.1.2.3.)

Before 1912, no actual training schools of what might be considered the normal school

type existed for Africans in Natal. Prospective teachers who were in Grades 6, 7 and 8 were allowed to take an extra paper on Principles of Education and Teaching Methods (Cook, 1939:1-2). From 1912, some of the mission schools which trained Sunday School teachers and evangelist-teachers were transformed into normal (non-denominational) schools (Huss, 1922; Leisegang, 1923)

Training schools in African education had a third dimension, that is, the inclusion of training in industrial subjects in the curriculum. In 1847, Kay-Shuttleworth directed that the prospective indigenous teachers in the colonies be apprenticed from age 13 to 19 years in the 'day school of industry' and then transferred to the normal school.

In the latter, the students received character training - to show preference for the education of the labouring poor and not to feel above their own class society' (Hartshorne, 1992:220-1). The aim of the industrial training in the teacher training programme was to facilitate the training of boys and girls in schools for the colonial labour force (Dhlomo, 1975:6-7; Majeke, 1986:135). Brookes (1949) emphasises the point that there was a great political desire 'to use education as a means of training the Native to keep his subservient place in a caste society'. For women the emphasis was training in agriculture and home economics as they had to teach the girls to produce food and manage their homes in the absence of the menfolk under the migrant labour system. From the centralised school farms these women proceeded to training schools to train as teachers. This type of technical education helped to produce a new type of teacher with a new orientation (De Villiers, 1940).

In 1912, Loram introduced many reforms in the African training school system. In the teacher training programme, he laid stress on the professional rather than the academic subjects (Hartshorne, 1992:223). In 1935 there were five African training schools in Natal. The Natal Native Training College, Adam's Mission Station (1853), the Nuttall Training Institution, Edendale (1883) and the St Francis College, Mariannhill (1884) were the most popular training schools.

3.4.8. The Training College System

In Britain, the pupil-teacher system which proved inadequate for the provision of mass education in the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, the attendance of the pupil-teachers at

the teachers' centres for academic and professional training caused teacher shortages and disruptions at the schools. Therefore, the Govt had to establish special training colleges to train teachers in large numbers (Bell et al, 1973:267). The full-time training colleges evolved from the learning centres for pupil-teachers.

In Natal, most training colleges are the products of many years of educational and institutional development. They have a background of primary, higher primary and secondary classes before they had developed into teacher training colleges (Kierstead, 1952).

However, this transformation did not occur in the same manner in all the education departments. Hartshorne (1992:226) explains that in African education, for example, in 1949 there were 40 training colleges in South Africa, but only 7 colleges provided teacher training courses only. All the others offered a wide range of educational activities in addition to teacher training. At these colleges, the teacher trainees rarely comprised half of the enrolment. (vide 3.4.7)

Formal training for White women teachers had begun in Pietermaritzburg and Durban in 1904 but it was discontinued in 1908 (Behr & MacMillan, 1971:250). In 1909, a full training college was established for Whites in Pietermaritzburg (Behr, 1971:274-5).

Although teacher training had begun in 1924 for Coloured women (Horrell, 1970:66; Domingo, 1998) and for Indian women in 1935 (Gounden, 1985:19; Singh, 1987:11), this training was not conducted at full training colleges. A full training college was established for Indians in 1951 (ibid) but a separate training college for Coloureds had never existed in Natal (Samuel, 1999).

The courses at the training colleges were generally of two-year duration because the demand for teachers generally outstripped the supply, but in the 1960's there was a need for improvement in the quality of teachers and to raise the status of the teaching profession (Bell et al, 1973:270; Behr, 1988:173-5; Lowndes, 1970:356)). Therefore, the training colleges were soon placed alongside the universities to gain this respectability. Moreover, there were a shortage of university places and a keen competition to enter the training colleges. Therefore, the entrance qualification was raised and the duration of teaching

courses was lengthened to three years (Bell et al, 1973:270; Baron, 1965:177). The new dispensation fostered an academic and social life at the training college more akin to a university (Armytage, 1964:247).

In the 1960's, in view of their link-up with the universities to enhance their status, teacher training colleges were designated colleges of education. Le Roux (1980:13) argues that the former term fell into disfavour because 'training' is usually associated with learning a skill but 'education' is a broader concept, which includes the learning pedagogical methods and the acquisition of academic knowledge for the students' edification.

3.4.9. The University System

University departments of education developed in the first place to supplement the work of the colleges of education but soon they came to specialise in providing one-year post-graduate courses (Dent, 1961:62; Baron, 1965:167-8). This task was sustained for some time but in recent years higher degrees and research in education have developed at the universities (Baron, 1965:167-8). In Natal, the UN started training White teachers in 1921 (Brookes, 1965:181), UNIZUL trained African teachers since 1961 (Wood, 1972:159) and UDW trained Indian teachers since 1961 (Naidoo, 1989:136-7).

When the provision of secondary education was started for all in Britain in the 1940's, the unification of university departments of education and the colleges of education became necessary as the universities on their own could not supply enough secondary teachers (Baron, 1965:166; Armytage, 1964:247). Education in Natal was confronted with the same problem in the 1970's when the SA Govt upon the recommendation of the Gericke Commission of 1968, passed the National Education Policy Amendment, 1969 (Act 73 of 1969), which states that the training for (White) persons as secondary teachers may be provided at a university. But a situation was created when the universities could not cope with the supply of teachers because the schools were offering a wide range of subjects (Behr, 1988:173). Solutions had to be found.

Consequently, the Van Wyk de Vries Commission of 1974 hatched the 'College Idea' - which placed the teacher training institutions under the guidance of the universities (Behr, 1988:173-5). The Acts 92 of 1974 and 25 of 1982 placed the training of secondary

teachers in the hands of the universities only but the colleges and technikons could train teachers in certain subjects and for certain courses. The colleges of education could offer a three-year as well as a four-year diploma courses for teachers of pre-primary, primary and secondary schools. The universities had to recognise courses passed at the colleges and technikons (ibid). (vide 3.4.8) A side-effect of the take-over of teacher training by the universities was the depression of the status of the colleges of education (Le Roux, 1980:15).

3.4.10. The In-service Training System

The in-service training of teachers always meant different things to different groups of people or individuals depending on the time and place. Basically it purports to target serving teachers to develop their 'personal education, professional competence and general understanding of the role which they and their schools are expected to play in a changing society'(Hartshorne, 1992: 258).

Loram introduced this system of teacher training in Natal in 1918 to upgrade the unqualified African teachers (Behr, 1988:168). Regular vacation classes were arranged particularly at the training schools. Inspectors of Education in collaboration with the staffs of the training schools ran these vacation classes which were held in the July and December holidays at the Mariannahill College and Adams College (Dent, 1948). The admission requirements were Gr 9 qualification, at least two years satisfactory service and good health. Successful candidates were awarded the LPTC (the T6 certificate) (Dent, 1948,1949). Attendance at the classes appears to have been very encouraging; for example, 137 men and 70 women teachers had attended the classes held from July 7-17, 1919 at Mariannahill College (Huss, 1922). In July/December 1948, a vacation course for unqualified women only was held at Mariannahill Training College and 139 women attended (Dent, 1948, NTJ, 1949, 29(1)).

Vacation classes for White teachers without certificates teaching in African schools were held in January 1921 to prepare them for a special examination written in May 1921. The purpose of this examination was to upgrade these teachers to qualify them for a salary increase which was imminent for the teachers in White schools (Bryant, 1920).

Part-time training classes for Indian teachers were conducted by the Education Department at Durban, Tongaat and Pietermaritzburg in the 1920's. In 1927, there were 130 serving teachers attending such classes, of whom 15 were women (Nair, 1975: 26). Classes of between 3 and 4 hours per week were held on week-ends. Vacation courses were conducted to supplement the part-time classes. The first vacation course was held in January 1929 (Gounden, 1985:18).

The 'refresher' type of teacher training became very valuable since the late 1960's, when the various departments of education in SA had to orientate serving teachers on the new developments in education - Maths, Sciences, Languages etc. Ad hoc one or more days of orientation courses became very common (Hartshorne, 1992; Van Rensburg, 1974).

3.5. Categories of Professional Teachers

With the growth of education in KZN, different categories of professional teachers developed since the colonial days. In the categorisation of teachers, sexual division of work, with its link with qualifications and professional status, features prominently. Broadly five categories of teachers are reviewed.

3.5.1. The Primary Teachers

That primary school teaching is women's work is a universal phenomenon (Omond, 1989). Evidence is that in South Africa this notion was entrenched by legislation in the 1930's. The Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education (1935) and the Education Commission Report on White Education (1937) recommended that the primary school teachers should be predominantly women (Metcalf, 1938; McK Malcolm, 1935; Dent, 1954; Hartshorne, 1992:227; Shayi, 1996:26). This idea was further entrenched in African education in 1954 by the implementation of Verwoerd's Bantu Education policies (Hartshorne, 1992: 237). (vide 3.3.1.3.1.4)

3.5.1.1. The Nursery School Teachers

The training of nursery school teachers had begun in KZN White and African education in the 1940's. It appears that prior to that date, nursery school teaching was considered to be

hardly a profession (Dent, 1947; Allsopp, 1949). Hence, the evidence of the neglect by the Govt. In 1969, under the auspices of the Central Govt, nursery school teacher training was undertaken by the different departments of education in KZN. The preponderance of evidence is that the nursery school teachers were and still are women (Ponnusamy, 1995:169).

3.5.1.2. The Primary School Teachers.

In White education primary school teaching (Grades 1-6) was dominated by women since the 1940's. In 1958, the official position of the NED was reflected in the statement of a retired Chief Inspector of Schools :

... primary teaching is no work for a man - it is woman's work ... the only position which should be held by a man in a primary school is that of principal. (quoted in Orr, 1958)

The cumulative result of this attitude was that in 1979 women constituted 83.87 percent of the White primary school teachers in KZN (Mentor, 1980, 62(3): 80-1). The division between high schools and primary schools was so strong in White education that the NTS had to create a subdivision- the NPSTA - to deal with issues concerning primary schools separately (Mentor, 1992, 74(2):23-28).

The position was different in Black education. Between 1965 and 1985, although Black women teachers constituted the greater majority of all Black teachers, the Black men teachers were the greater minority compared to the White men teachers. For example, in their respective communities, the proportion of men teachers were : Whites : 16,13 percent in 1979 (Mentor, 1980, 62(3): 80-1); Indians: 67,42 percent in 1974 (Nair, 1975:83); Coloureds: 46,8 percent in 1969 (Horrell, 1970:130); Africans: 33,33 percent in 1976 (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977:688).

In the primary schools of all race groups, JP (Grades 1-3) and LP (Grades 1-4) education was almost exclusively in the hands of women. In White education, for example, in 1979 there was not a single man teaching in this phase (Mentor, 1980, 62(3): 80-1). In Coloured and African education, men were excluded from taking courses leading to the LPTC. It

was preserved for the women as it entitled the Coloured women to teach the JP classes and the African women the LP classes (Horrell, 1970:133; Brookes, 1936).

To entrench the femaleness of the LP teaching in African education, the Dept directed that in 1954 all vacant posts in this phase be filled by women teachers in the first place, or by men teachers with the proviso that they sign a written agreement to accept the female rate of salary (Dent, 1954). This disincentive was clearly to deter the African men from taking the 'female' jobs or probably to peg the salary of the LP teachers. The presence of women teachers was the highest (66.66 percent) in 1966 because the Govt encouraged the training of women as teachers and it was the policy to appoint only women as teachers and principals in the lower primary schools (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1967:108). The African primary schools were staffed entirely by African teachers (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977:688). (vide 3.3.1.4.1.2.3)

In Indian education in 1995, about 66 percent of primary school teachers were women (Ponnusamy, 1995:169). Apart from their 'caring and nurturing' nature, the Indian women's lower levels of education was probably the other major factor for the feminisation of the primary schools. From 1904 to 1934, girls with Gr 6 qualification were admitted to train as teachers (Rambiritch, 1955:149; Gounden, 1985:15). The entrance qualification was changed to Gr 9 in 1946 (Rambiritch, 1955:161) and to Gr 10 in 1952 (Gounden, 1985:22). The women were equipped to teach classes up to Gr 4. This course was closed to men in 1958 (ibid).

3.5.2. The Secondary Teachers

Evidence is that in all departments of education, secondary school teaching was predominantly the domain of men. There were several reasons for this pattern to have developed. The main reason was that higher education was largely inaccessible to women (Green-Thompson, 1998). Most men took degrees and university education diplomas to teach in the secondary schools (Cameron-Ford, 1957).

Quite independent of the higher academic qualifications of the men was an important economic factor. There was a tradition which dictated that secondary school teachers be paid a higher salary than the primary school teachers irrespective of their qualifications

(Cameron-Ford, 1951). Men were favoured for the higher salaries since they were regarded as the breadwinners and the women as supplementers of the family income.

Further, it was believed that women were not strong enough to control the adolescent students at the secondary schools. At White boys' secondary schools there was some aversion for women as it was believed that they would have changed the monastic atmosphere and modified the masculinity there (Cameron-Ford, 1965). These social and institutionalised barriers helped to create the tradition of male domination in the secondary schools until the 1980's.

In African education before 1948, the secondary schools and the colleges were staffed mostly by White teachers and the principals were White males (Loram, 1917:135). But when the Govt's policy of separate development took root in the 1960's African teachers began to predominate the staffs of these institutions. (vide 3.3.1.4.1.2.3) Therefore, in 1977, there was a small nucleus of White teachers who were required to teach subjects as such English, Afrikaans, Maths and Physical Science to matriculation students (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977:689). In 1965, of the African post-primary school staffs, women constituted only about 2 percent (BEJ, 1968, 14(6): 14-15).

3.5.3. The Technical School /Technikon Teachers

As in the case of secondary school teaching, evidence shows that teaching in the technical high schools and colleges was largely men's occupation. Women teachers appear to have been restricted to the teaching of skills related to Domestic Science, sewing, spinning and weaving, upholstery etc. (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977:109). Men seem to have taught skills related to 'men's' work such as plumbing, carpentry and bricklaying. Women were generally incapable of handling subjects related to 'men's' work of a highly technical nature. For example, in African education in the 1920's, boys had to be excluded from the Polela Intermediate School as the all-women staff was unable to cope with the industrial course for boys (Forest, 1926).

Evidence shows also that the African teachers were trained to teach industrial and /or technical skills from colonial times.(vide 3.4.7) The NCG's policy on African education was that industrial training had to be done concurrently with academic and professional

training at training schools (Wilkinson, 1921). This arrangement seems to have satisfied a need for technical or industrial teachers as at least one third of the instruction time per week at African schools was devoted to manual work (McK Malcolm, 1929). In the Technical Colleges, courses in technical, commercial and home-making were taught to women (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977:102).

3.5.4. The University Teachers

Available literature reveals that, as in all other institutions of higher education, the teaching staffs of the KZN universities were and still are predominantly male. In the case of the UN, for example, although women students were admitted from its inception, it took 21 years for a woman to be appointed to the academic staff (Gibson, 1991:52). In the 1932-1933 academic year, there were 5 women and 30 men on the academic staff and in the 1949-1950 period, this number increased to 20 and 111 respectively. As at 01 July 1991, the academic staff consisted of 382 women and 794 men (ibid: 59-60).

3.6. Teacher Training in KZN

Teacher training in KZN has a chequered history. This section traces its historical development from the mission training schools to normal training schools and then to the training colleges and colleges of education linked to the universities.

3.6.1. The Pioneers of Teacher Training

In the early days of Colonial Natal, teacher training had been started by the Dames' Schools or the Ladies' Academies. To facilitate the teaching at these schools, the older pupils were apprenticed as pupil-teachers (Vietzen, 1980:108-9). But these were private institutions apparently created to cater for elitist education.

The NCG's involvement in the training of teachers was marginal until KZN education became politicised in the 1870's. It was only in 1877 that the NCG took decisive steps to train teachers by passing Law 16.(vide 3.6.2.3) The preponderance of evidence is that the church missions were the real pioneers in the training of teachers in KZN, indeed in RSA as a whole. In KZN, three church missions- the Roman Catholic, the Anglican and the

ABM - are distinguishable as the pioneers of teacher training. For over a century the mission training schools were responsible for training most of the province's teachers. The ABM concentrated on the training of African teachers. The establishment of teacher training institutions between 1908 and 1955 for Whites, Coloureds and Indians only reduced the dependence on the missions for the supply of their teachers in KZN. But the work of the mission training schools was sharply and visibly curtailed in 1953 when the State closed down most of the mission teacher training schools and itself assumed control. The churches' involvement in teacher training was so significant that Pope John Paul II, as recently as 1979, when he addressed the conference of Catholic Church in the RSA, re-affirmed that the importance of the training of teachers (the evangelist-teachers) be sustained (Van Wageningen, 1983:155-159).

3.6.2. Some Pioneer Training Institutions

3.6.2.1. The Institutions for Indians

Rev Ralph Stott attempted to train a few teachers at a night school he opened in Durban in 1868. Rev Stott himself taught the teacher trainees at night (Gounden, 1985:14). Then the pupil-teacher system was introduced into the schools in 1888 (Levine, 1962:361). Evidently females were unavailable to train as teachers as the T.W.Brooks' report for 1872 (NED Report 1872, p. T20), states that Stott endeavoured to 'train lads for teachers'.

In 1900, the NED instituted examinations for the Junior and Senior Indian Teachers' Certificates but no provision was made for the training of teachers. This prompted Canon A.H.Smith¹⁵ to open the St Aidan's Training College in Sydenham in 1904. The entrance qualification was Gr 6 (Behr, 1984:263). In 1904-1905, 34 boys were enrolled at this college (Gounden, 1985:16). In the same year, Lady Bale introduced part-time teacher training for girls at this college (Rambiritch, 1955:149). Unfortunately, this college had to close down in 1914 on account of insufficient enrolment (Van der Walt, 1970:43).

In 1905, the Durban Training College provided part-time classes for in-service teachers. Although the shortage of teachers persisted, a ruling was made in 1909 that all assistant teachers in Govt schools had to be in possession of at least a two-year JTC . In 1918,

¹⁵ Canon A.H. Smith: Took over evangelical work from Rev L.P. Booth; restructured schools run by Church of Province of SA (Wrinch-Schultz, 1984:10).

teacher training commenced at the York Road School in Pietermaritzburg and in 1919, the St Aidan's Provincial College was reopened.

In the late 1920's the NPA did not have the financial resources to develop the teacher training centres and the Indian community was urged to take the initiative to raise the funds. Through the efforts of Strinivasa Sastri¹⁶ Sastri College, essentially a secondary school, was opened in Durban in 1930. In 1931, full-time teacher training was started at this college, catering for both academic and professional training (Rambiritch, 1955:156). From 1935, girls who had their academic training at the DIGHS undertook their professional training at Sastri College. But, in 1941, the DIGHS introduced teacher training classes for the girls, and 10 girls received instruction for the T5 certificate as a start (ibid). In 1951, the SCE opened in Sydenham as a Provincial co-educational institution with 107 men and 18 women and, in 1960, these numbers grew to 207 and 112 respectively (ibid). In 1961, the University College for Indians at Salisbury Island (now UDW) began training teachers.

From 1966 to 1973, the M.L Sultan Technikon prepared secondary teachers to teach commercial subjects, home economics, industrial arts and physical education during the period when the colleges of education and universities were in the process of developing facilities for these subjects (Naidoo, 1989:120-3).

3.6.2.2. Institutions for Africans

Until 1910, teacher training in African education was the function of the church missions. State intervention was limited to the provision of grants-in-aid which were available since 1841 (Hartshorne, 1992:220).

Teacher training was conducted at Adams College since 1853 (Nuttall, 1949:40; Grant, 1951). As 75 percent of all the students who trained at Adams Mission became teachers, a special teacher training course was organised there in 1908 (Dhlomo, 1975:70). Women teachers were first trained at the Inanda Seminary which was established by the ABM in 1869. In the early days there were no trained African women teachers to teach the girls, so

¹⁶ Sastri, V.S.S.: First India's Agent-General in SA from 1927 to 1929; argued for the cause of Indians in SA; through his efforts secondary education for Indians improved since 1929 (DSAB, 1972:617-8).

the ABM introduced the pupil-teacher system into the Seminary. But, with the increase in the enrolment at the African schools in the reserves, the teacher shortage became more acute. Therefore, a teacher training class was established in 1900. This class was discontinued in 1908 and the women teacher trainees were transferred to Adams College (Scott, 1951). (vide 3.4.6).

In 1883, the Nuttall Training Institution was established at Edendale by the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. Initially, only men teachers were trained here but in 1913, under the auspices of Rev B.E.Elderkin¹⁷, women were included in the teacher training programme. To encourage the enrolment of women teachers, a large dormitory and a kitchen for cookery classes were built (Wilkinson, 1921).

At St Francis College, Mariannhill, established by the St Francis Catholic Mission in 1884, a normal school was opened in 1915, where men and women were trained as teachers. At this college, also, vacation classes were held regularly from 1918 to upgrade uncertificated teachers. (vide 3.4.10). Women teachers were also trained at schools such as St Chad's College, Modderspruit (1913) and Umpumulo Institution, Stanger (1912) (Robinson, 1922; Leisegang, 1923).

In 1910, there were four training institutions in Natal under the Dept of Education and in 1935 this number had increased to five (Hartshorne, 1992:223). Most of these colleges were co-educational. In addition, there were a number of training institutions run by the missions and voluntary organisations which the Central Govt closed down and took complete control of the training of teachers. Between 1960 and 1980, the State separated secondary schools and other training schools from the teacher training institutions, built fewer but large institutions to be economically more viable and a greater proportion of women teachers were trained (ibid :223-7). In addition, the training of secondary school teachers soon became the responsibility of the universities. For example, UNIZUL began training teachers in Natal. In 1974, there were 117 men and 49 women students admitted in the Faculty of Education at this university (BEJ, 1975, 21(7):34-35).

¹⁷ Rev B.E. Elderkin : Wesleyan Methodist Missionary at Edendale, Principal of Nuttall training Institution in the early 1900's.(NTJ, October 1921, pp. 6-7).

3.4.4. The Tutorial System

Tutors were teachers who taught learners individually or in small groups. Tutors were the resident type such as the teachers in the early schools or the governesses in the wealthy homes in Natal Colony or the peripatetic type such the zenana teachers in British India (Murdoch, 1995:70-1; Malherbe, 1925:364).

The tutorial class system of teaching was essentially a system in which the learners are taught individually or in small groups. The university lecture system of teaching was found to be too academic and in large classes the students, especially the high school recruits, found adjustment problems. To bridge the gap, these students were 'coached' in small tutorial groups by university tutors (Behr, 1988:202; Curtis & Boulwood, 1962:318-20). The tutorial system had its beginnings in the workers' educational movement in Britain in 1903 (Lowndes, 1970:156). It was developed in England since 1906 by Mansbridge¹³ (Curtis & Boulwood, 1962:318).

The tutorial system of teaching was introduced at the Pietermaritzburg Girls' Collegiate School by Miss Campbell¹⁴ in the late nineteenth century (Vietzen, 1980:176). In the 1950's, this system of teaching was used to train teachers at the Natal Training College Pietermaritzburg (Nuttall, 1954). Special emphasis was placed on the tutorial system of teacher training at this institution. Student teachers were divided into small tutorial groups: each group was attached to a college tutor. This tutor supervised the teaching practice of the student teachers and saw to their general educational development (ibid). This system of teacher training was subsequently used at the other training colleges and universities in Natal.

The peer tutor system is a new development in some SA universities. It goes some way to solve staff shortages (Behr, 1980:34).

¹³ Mansbridge, A : Unionist and teacher; well experienced in adult education, conceived and developed tutorial class system Curtis & Boulwood, 1964:325-6)

¹⁴ Campbell, M : Woman Principal of Girls' Collegiate Schools in Pietermaritzburg and Durban; developed secondary education for White girls in Natal in the late 1800's (Vietzen, 1973).

3.6.2.3. The Institutions for Whites

Teacher training in White education in Natal was initiated by religious organisations as well as private institutions. Teacher training was first started at St Mary's College in Richmond (Vietzen, 1980:108). The training itself was done in a most elementary form - a combination of the monitorial and pupil-teacher systems (ibid). In 1892, a branch of the Wellington Huguenot Seminary which was opened in Greytown also trained White women teachers (Vietzen, 1980:130-1; Van Biljon, 1983:2-8). (vide 3.4.6)

In 1874, pupil-teacher system was introduced at the Model Schools at Pietermaritzburg and Durban. The NCG had entrenched this system of teacher training with the passing of Law 15 of 1877. (vide 3.4.7). In 1909, however, the Natal Training College was established in Pietermaritzburg and about 45 students per year qualified here during the decade ending 1919 (ibid:251; Niven, 1971:55). Due to a need for more White teachers, a second training college, the Durban Teachers' Training College was opened in 1957 (Cameron-Ford, 1957) and a third, the Edgewood College of Education was opened in Pinetown in 1970 (Behr & MacMillan, 1971:293; Behr, 1988:164).

The UN also trained teachers since 1921 (Brookes, 1966:181) but it concerned itself with the preparation of teachers for the secondary schools (Behr & MacMillan, 1971:279; Behr, 1988:165). Initially, the UED, both post-graduate and under-graduate courses, each of one year duration, were offered. Now, higher education degrees at Bachelors, Masters and Doctorate levels are offered (Behr & MacMillan, 1971:281-4).

3.6.2.4. The Institutions for Coloureds

Before the 1930's, Govt intervention in the training of Coloured teachers in Natal was not an issue as the majority of the Coloured children attended mission schools for Africans and Whites. (Stock, 1998). Consequently, in 1929, there were 86 White, 18 Coloured and 5 Indian teachers employed in the Govt and Govt-aided Coloured schools in Natal (Horrell, 1970:70). Presumably, the Coloured teachers were trained at the Cape as the facilities were present there (ibid; Stock, 1998).

Early teacher training in KZN was certainly initiated in the mission schools. For example,

in 1896, Rev Sister Mary of the Cross¹⁸, financially unable to employ qualified teachers in her day schools for Indian and Mauritian girls started to train her own pupils to teach (Horrell, 1970:21). At other mission schools such as St Monica's School, Hillary, the monitor and pupil-teacher systems were used to train teachers but these teachers did not get paid (Stock, 1998). The more capable girls who had passed Gr 8 were sent to colleges like St Chad's, Ladysmith, to train as teachers. The course was of a two-year duration and these girls were trained to teach in the primary schools (ibid).

The evidence of Govt involvement is the establishment of a teacher training class by the Education Dept for students with Gr 8 at the St Philomena's School in Chelmsford Road, Durban (Nuttall, 1949:29). Most of the KZN Coloured teachers were trained prior to 1955 at the Umbilo Road High School which opened in 1924 (Domingo, 1998; Green-Thompson, 1998). Frances Bechet¹⁹ started the teacher training programme at this school (Bechet College 20th Anniversary Brochure - 1955-1975). By 1933, eleven teachers were trained at this school (Horrell, 1970:70). This school ceased training teachers when the Bechet Training College opened in 1955, with an enrolment of 38 students (Bechet College 20th Anniversary Brochure - 1955-1975). This college was the main source of trained Coloured teachers for KZN until it amalgamated with the Edgewood College of Education in 1994 (Samuel, 1998; Green-Thompson, 1998).

Since the 1960's, when a system of differentiated education was introduced, secondary school teachers had to have university training, a degree plus a one-year full-time training. With the Govt's policy of separate development most of the students had to attend UWC (Horrell, 1970:70-1; Behr, 1988:171).

3.7. The Qualifications of KZN Women Teachers

Due to the pluralistic nature of the South African society and the evident lower qualifications of women teachers the world over, it is considered important to gain some insight into the qualifications of the KZN women teachers. This would be useful to

¹⁸ Sister Mary of the Cross : one of the first nine Augustinian Sisters to come to Natal; worked at St Philomena's home and school for destitute Coloured girls at Malvern in early 1900's (Augustinian Sisters of Mercy of Jesus, Natal 1891-1991)

¹⁹ Bechet, F. J : Principal of Umbilo High School; long recognised need for training of Coloured teachers; initiated building of Bechet Training College in Sydenham in 1955 (Bechet College 20th Anniversary Brochure, 1955-1975).

measure its impact on KZN education.

3.7.1. The African Teachers

In African education, teacher training was undertaken by women mainly after Gr 8 (MacMillan, 1958; Behr, 1988:30). Since this resembled an extension of the primary school, it was considered expedient to provide more secondary schools as sources of more and better teachers (MacMillan, 1958).

Between 1910 and 1975, African teachers generally held three categories of qualifications: the LPTC, a three-year course after Gr 8; the HPTC, a two-year course after Gr 10; the STC, a two-year post-matriculation course offered at UNIFORT (Behr, 1984:175-6). In 1935, African students were admitted to the TJC course offered by UNISA (NTJ, January 1952). In 1938, however, the minimum entrance qualification to teacher training institutions was raised to Gr 9 (McK Malcolm, 1937). In summary, in 1935, only 32 percent of the KZN African teachers had formal qualifications and the majority of them held the LPTC (Hartshorne, 1992:227).

With the enactment of the Bantu Education Act (Act 47 of 1953), teacher training was reorganised. The teachers were offered the following courses: in 1956 the LPTC, a two-year course for women only after Gr 8; in 1972 the PTC, a two-year course after Gr 10; the JSTD after Gr 12 (Hartshorne, 1992:239). The primary teachers courses equipped the students to teach JP and SP classes and the secondary teachers diploma equipped the students to teach the lower forms of the secondary schools. Special one-year courses for certificated teachers were offered to provide specialist training in woodwork, housecraft, arts and crafts (Behr, 1988: 169). In 1982, Gr 12 was made the entrance qualification for all teacher training courses. A whole range of courses were introduced: e.g. the PTD with specialisation in teaching pre-primary, junior primary and senior primary levels, at the STD, both general and technical, to teach at the secondary level (ibid: 177).

In 1976, the basic training for primary school teachers was a two-year course after passing Gr 10. The successful students were awarded the PTC. Sixty percent of the students taking this course were women (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977: 690). The secondary school teachers were trained mainly at UNIZUL, where non-graduate and post-graduate courses

were taken. Between 1969 and 1977 about 75 percent of the students taking these courses were men (ibid:691). At the universities for Africans provision is made for the students to take the STD and the UED. The requirement for the latter is a bachelors' degree (Behr, 1988:169).

3.7.2. The White Teachers

As early as 1904, a start was made to train women teachers for the T3 certificate. When the Natal Teachers' Training College was established in 1909, this course was re-introduced. Between 1909 and 1919, 450 teachers qualified with the T3 certificates. In 1919, the T1 and T2 certificate courses were offered in collaboration with NUC (Behr, 1971:274-5).

In the 1930's three courses were taken by the teacher trainees : the T3, a two-year course; the LD, a three-year course; the degree plus HD, a four-year course (Chalmers, 1930). The T3 and LD equipped teachers to teach mainly in the primary schools. The T3 was the most popular course among the women; almost all the women took this course, ostensibly, because it was of short duration (ibid). There appears to have been subtle coercion from the authorities on women to choose this course. The rationale was that since women teachers' working life was relatively short, it was uneconomical to spend more than necessary on their training (Metcalf, 1938). (vide 3.3.1.3.1.1.) Since the late 1950's, students were prepared for the NTSD, a three-year course designed for teaching a particular subject (e.g. Biology, Maths, Handicraft and Physical Science) in the high schools or a general of range subjects in the primary schools (Behr, 1988:164).

In 1976, a basic three-year course was offered by all the training colleges in Natal. Four-year courses which equipped specialist teachers to teach in primary schools, as well as certain subjects in secondary schools, were offered. However, most of the secondary school teachers were trained at the universities. UNISA offered post-graduate diplomas while the UN offered a one-year post-graduate diploma (UED) and a four-year non-degree diploma for secondary schools (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977:684).

3.7.3. The Indian Teachers

In 1904, Indian students took two teachers' courses - the JTC and the STC - at the St Aidan's Diocesan Training College. The entrance qualification for the courses was Gr 6 and the duration was one year. In 1909, a ruling was made that all assistant teachers in Govt schools had to be in possession of at least a two-year JTC. The entrance qualification at the York Road School in Pietermaritzburg in 1918 was Gr 8. Few sought admission here because the majority of the girls ended their schooling at Gr 6 (Gounden, 1985:14-18).

Between 1930 and 1958, Indian students took the T3B, T4 and T5 courses at Sastri College, the DIGHS and the SCE. In the 1930's, the T3B course (the JC of UNISA) was taken by the training school students. From 1951, the SCE prepared students for the T3B certificate (Gounden, 1985:20). The majority of the students completed a two-year course after Gr 10 (JC). This course (JC + 2) was designed to attract women to the profession as they seldom proceeded beyond Gr 10. In 1958, this course was closed to men (Gounden, 1985:20-22; Van der Walt, 1970:44). (vide 3.5.1) Then a one-year post-matriculation (M + 1) course was introduced. In 1953, a two-year post-matriculation (M + 2) course was introduced, with 12 men taking it (Levine, 1962:361). The JC + 2 course was termed the NTSC and the M + 2 course, the NTD. In 1958, the M + 3, a three-year post-matriculation course was introduced. In 1960, 15 men and 2 women were enrolled on this course (ibid). In subsequent years, most women who took the M + 3 course, specialised either in Domestic Science or JP education (ibid: 362).

The enrolment of students at Indian teacher training institutions increased tremendously in the 1980's, with the result that in 1983, for the first time, the supply of teachers outstripped the demand (Fiat Lux, 1983, 8 (3):3). Therefore, more stringent selection procedures and admission requirements had to be implemented (ibid). From 1985, all initial courses for both primary and secondary schools offered at colleges of education were of four-year duration after Gr 12 (leading to M + 4 or HED) (Gounden, 1985:20-2; Behr, 1988:178). This course, provides successful candidates with degree credits. The four-year non-graduate HED was also offered at UDW, in addition to the post-graduate HED and, BED, MED and DED (Gounden, 1985:20-2)

3.7.4. The Coloured Teachers

In the early days, the Coloured teachers' certificates were : the T5, a two-year post-Gr 8 course; the T4, a two-year post-Gr 9 course; T3, a two-year post-Gr 10 course (Horrell, 1970:70-1). By 1950, these courses were replaced by the NTSC, the NTD and the NTSD, a three-year post-Gr 12 course. These courses were offered at the Bechet Training College when it opened in 1955. In 1960, 28 women and 1 man took the NTSC and 23 men and 8 women took the NTD (ibid).

In 1968-1969, the Departmental Report identified a shortage of teachers. Therefore, in 1970-1972, the following courses were offered : LPTC, a two-year post-Gr 10 course; the PTD, a three-year post-Gr 12 course. An LPTC (Special Course) was also offered to teachers already in possession of the LPTC, but wanted to specialise in Music, Fine Arts, Physical Education, Domestic Science and Needlework. The LPTC was offered to women only but the PTD to both men and women (Horrell, 1970:133). In 1960, a limited number of bursaries were granted to promising students to take a post-Gr 12 UED course which qualified them to teach in secondary schools. This course was offered full-time at UN, UCT, WITS and UNIFORT, and also at UNISA through correspondence (Horrell, 1970:70-1).

In 1982, a three-year course leading to the M + 3 after Gr 12 was introduced as a minimum qualification to teach in the primary school. In the first year, a common curriculum was followed. Thereafter, the trainees specialised in JP, SP or practical subjects such as art, handwork, home economics, music, needlework and physical education. The secondary school training course comprised selected academic subjects and was of a four-year duration. The minimum entrance qualification was Gr 12 and the successful candidates were awarded the HDE. Teacher training courses for the secondary schools were provided at UWC (Behr, 1988:178).

3.8. The Feminisation of Teaching in KZN

Teaching in KZN is now predominated by women. The feminisation of the teaching profession evidently began in the twentieth century. This section would illuminate the process of transformation.

3.8.1. Social and Cultural Factors

Traditions and customs concerning the sexual division of labour had changed to a large extent in South Africa since the world wars (Venter, 1977:71). With the technological advancement and industrialisation, it was inevitable that women should be drawn into the labour market. After the Second World War there was such a technological revival that the social structure had to change drastically and the role of women had to be reappraised. As there was a greater demand for female labour, the different communities, influenced by the prevailing spirit of rationalism and individualism, were ready to condone women's professional activities outside the home (ibid :13). For example, the Indians, who had perceived themselves as part of the industrialised SA society, changed their attitude toward their women's participation in paid labour. This break-down of the parents' prejudice had encouraged the girls to participate in the labour market (Osman, 1975:5-6). The spin-off from this liberation was the increase in the need for knowledge and skills. When the better educated women saw the advantage of education for their daughters, education became an imperative (ibid). The demand for female education derived a demand for women teachers, especially in the Indian and White communities, as the parents still preferred women to teach their girls in single-sex schools.

The missionaries identified two forms of oppression of the African women - polygamy and *lobola*-which actually impeded their efforts of Christianising the Africans (Hughes, 1990:204). To break down these traditions the missionaries needed to liberate the African women by converting them to Christianity. But then conversion and education were two sides of the same coin. To educate the women, they needed to train teachers. So, the missions started training women teachers. (vide 3.6.2.2.)

3.8.2. Economic Factors

Before the industrial revolution, teaching in the RSA was overwhelmingly a male profession (MacQuarrie, 1970). The preponderance of evidence is that this was the position in KZN also. Between 1845 and 1930, most of the African and Coloured girls worked as domestic servants after leaving the mission schools (Stock, 1998). The White and Indian girls, even if they had 'higher' education, generally did not enter the labour

market because of their parents' practice of protection and seclusion. (vide 2.2.1.4.) If there was a need for the highly educated girls to earn a living, teaching was the main option (MacQuarrie, 1970).

However, the developing economy after the world wars imposed a heavy demand on female labour. This was precipitated by the relative lack of male power, but female power was available in abundance and at a cheaper rate, generally (Venter, 1977:12-13). In addition, the industrial and technological development ushered in an era of individual competition and high cost of living. As the husbands' income became inadequate to maintain the standard of living, women were drawn into labour to 'supplement' the family income (ibid). Venter (1977:67) and Robinson (1989) argue that women entered the teaching profession since it was the best paid occupation considering its relatively short period of training. The women teachers' positions became increasingly tenable as most of the men opted to join other, more lucrative occupations than teaching (ibid, Venter, 1977:67). Then, too, in times of want, teaching was generally seen as the easiest way up the social ladder for the working class adolescents (McCrystal, 1972). McCrystal (1972) asserts that the depression of the 1930's was the 'golden age' of teacher recruitment because then a large number of aspirant teachers had applied to join the profession.

3.8.3. Political Factors

Women had entered the labour sector after their liberation in 1630 and since then they had played an increasingly important role in the economy. But during the Second World War, the women in all countries, had to assist in the maintenance services of the war effort while the men were at the battle-front (Venter, 1977:12-3). Therefore women had to be recruited in considerable numbers to fill the positions, including teaching posts, left vacant by men who joined the army.

From 1936, the Govt policy to train and employ mostly women teachers to teach primary school children, especially Grades 1- 5 (Dent, 1954; Hartshorne, 1992:227). To encourage the girls in the Black communities to become teachers, the entrance qualifications were lowered, ranging from Gr 8 to Gr 9 for Africans and Gr 10 for Coloureds and Indians (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977: 690-700; Levine, 1962:361). The duration of training for these student teachers was generally two years (Behr, 1984:254). The implementation

of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was responsible for women in very large numbers entering the teaching profession. One of the provisions of this Act was mass education for the African children and two of the requirements for its implementation were the training and the employment of a large number of teachers by the State (Behr, 1984:178; Hartshorne, 1992:234). Verwoerd decided to recruit more African women to fill gap. He argued that since women were paid less, employing them as teachers would result in considerable savings in funds (Hartshorne, 1992:235). Therefore, there was a situation in SA in 1965, for example, when there were 14004 men and 20 039 women teaching in African schools (BEJ, 1968, 14(6):14-15).

3.8.4. Conditions of Service

Apart from the low salaries, women teachers appear to have found several factors in the teaching service favourable for them to function in their two other major roles - of wives and mothers. Firstly, some married women prefer intermittent jobs such as teaching. The temporary or part-time status facilitates their family-building duties immensely. For example, married women could sever their ties with education and remain at home for about ten years without losing their skills and then return to teaching when the youngest child is at school. An added advantage to part-time teachers is that they have more time to spend with their families than their full-time counterparts (Turner, 1970). Secondly, women choose teaching because it is thought to be one profession in which the workers have a relatively short working-day and enjoy a large number of holidays. All of these factors enable them to fulfil their family duties, largely denied by other professions (Vietzen, 1998). Thirdly, prior to 1994, women enjoyed relative security of tenure (ibid). Previously married women teachers had only a temporary status but the majority of them attained permanent status upon application (Cameron-Ford, 1958). The White women teachers enjoyed the benefit of this dispensation since 1 January 1959, with the amendment of Provincial Notice No 524 of 1947 (ibid).

3.8.5. Job Opportunities

The majority of women teachers entered the teaching profession because few of the other professions were open to women prior to the 1970's (MacQuarrie, 1970; Vietzen, 1998). When girls had begun receiving higher education, they could have only become

teachers or nurses in the early days. It is believed that the larger majority of the girls could have become teachers since it is the only profession in which even a completely untrained person could practise (MacQuarrie, 1970). Moreover, nursing and primary school teaching were perceived as the most suitable occupations for women, as they were really a domestic kind of work, only on a higher level (Christie, 1987:77).

3.8.6. Childcare

Since the 1970's, the establishment of day-care centres or crèches have freed a large number of women teachers to pursue their profession for the duration of the school sessions (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977:688). The introduction of pre-school classes at State schools and the lowering of the school-going age in the 1980's have increased the women teachers' chances of practising their profession or of even becoming teachers.

3.8.7. Failure of Overseas Recruitment Scheme

White education appears to have experienced a shortage of men teachers in the secondary schools for many decades. When a supply of overseas trained men teachers was not forthcoming, local women teachers were employed in the boys' secondary schools. To further circumvent the teacher shortage, KZN was the only province in the early 1960's to re-employ married women teachers (Cameron-Ford, 1965). In 1979, therefore, women constituted 59.8 percent of the White secondary school teachers in KZN (Mentor, 1980, 62(3)). (vide 3.5.2)

3.9. The Supply and Training of Teachers in Other Countries

3.9.1. Introduction

This section is an expedient to provide insights into teacher education developments in America, Britain, Western Europe, Russia and India. Arguably, the developments in these countries had largely influenced the educational developments in KZN. As Malherbe (1925) asserts, Natal has always been the 'most English' of the provinces of SA. Therefore, the focus of the review is on the British systems to further elucidate the developments in KZN. Russia and India are included because the evidence reveals that

they, like Britain, were at the forefront of providing equitable education for females, constitutionally at least.

3.9.2. America, Britain and Western Europe

3.9.2.1. Problems Related to the Provision of Teachers

The greatest problem in America, Britain and Western Europe was the inadequate supply of teachers (Peterson, 1971:221). This problem has always had two dimensions - the training and the supply of teachers. It was necessary, on the one side, to provide training for those who wished to teach, and, on the other, to attract enough suitable men and women to the profession. Supply was the first consideration and training the second.

3.9.2.1.1. Factors Causing the Shortage of Teachers

3.9.2.1.1.1. The Expansion of Education

In the early 1800's, the demand for teachers far exceeded the supply in Britain (Garrett, 1928:143). The expansion of primary, secondary and higher education in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries increased the demand for teachers tremendously. The greatest educational revolution in the nineteenth century was the spread of free, universal primary education. The supply of qualified primary school teachers in adequate numbers was the main problem in this revolution. The problem worsened at the end of the nineteenth century when secondary education was expanded and the universities were unable to train the required number of secondary teachers (Peterson, 1971:221-233). Then, the introduction of compulsory education and the differentiated curriculums by the Education Acts of 1899, 1902 and 1908 exacerbated the problem in England (Garrett, 1928:16-18). (3.9.2.1.1.3.)

3.9.2.1.1.2. Status of Teachers

In the nineteenth century, the teaching profession largely failed to attract new recruits because the status of the teachers was generally very low - educationally, socially and economically. Garrett (1928:143) and Balfour (1903:8) say that because of the dire

scarcity of teachers, people who were 'ill qualified', 'untrained' and generally 'incapable' were employed to teach the children in Britain. The social status of teachers, especially the primary teachers, was equivalent to that of 'superior' domestic servants, probably because they acted as teachers and day-care providers in the absence of the parents. The teachers' equation to domestic servants largely dictated their pay (Peterson, 1971:225). In America, the teachers were regarded as the 'dregs of the population, half-drunks and mendicants' (ibid). The situation was more pathetic as some teachers even accepted a few days' boarding and lodging from the parents instead of fees (ibid).

3.9.2.1.1.3. Political Factors

When education became politicised in Britain mass education was introduced by the Elementary Education Act of 1870, compulsory education by the Elementary Education Act of 1876 and general expansion by the subsequent education acts (Garrett, 1928:13-26, 143-4; Kerr, 1960:107,121). Consequently, the shortage of teachers became acute. (vide 3.9.2.1.1.1) The world wars worsened the problem of teacher shortages in Britain and America since 1902 (Curtis & Boultonwood, 1962:178, 373; Hansen, 1960: 323). Many teachers left the profession to accept jobs in the defence industries and other armed services (Hansen, 1960:323). The increase in the birth-rate which began after the Second World War and extended into the sixties resulted in an enormous 'bulge' in the school population and in the need for greater numbers of teachers to staff the schools (Hansen, 1960:323; Curtis & Boultonwood, 1962:373-4).

3.9.2.1.1.4. Social Factors

Staffing of single-sex girls' schools in America and Western Europe was a serious problem since the early nineteenth century as women teachers were in short supply. The problem worsened when the social attitude towards women changed during the industrial revolution and in the post-war periods. The gradual opening up of other occupations for women deprived the profession of women teachers. On the other hand, the levelling of conditions of service for men and women deprived it of men teachers as men were loathe to earn women's salaries. (Peterson, 1971:235). The problem worsened in the war years (Curtis & Boultonwood, 1962:178; Hansen, 1960:323). (vide 3.9.2.1.1.3)

3.9.2.1.1.5. Economic Factors

In the nineteenth century, the cost of training teachers was formidable for Govts to bear. The cost factor was the greatest obstacle to the supply of teachers by the Govts of Western Europe and America (Dent, 1961:18). The State had to rely on individuals and voluntary organisations to supply trained teachers.

Teachers were generally lowly-paid throughout Europe and America (Peterson, 1971:235-6; Kerr, 1960:193). In comparison to other professions such as medicine, dentistry, law and engineering, teaching paid a lower salary by far (Hansen, 1960:314). Therefore, teachers in Western Europe had to take on other jobs to supplement their official income (Kerr, 1960:192-3). With the advent of industrialisation and commercialisation, men teachers, mainly, were lured away by more lucrative jobs. Gradually, in occupations other than teaching, men and women began receiving equal pay. This placed tremendous pressure on the supply of women teachers (Peterson, 1971:235). (vide 3.1.1.2.1.1.4)

3.9.2.1.1.6. Wastage Factor

Hansen (1960:324) states that every year thousands of teachers were lost through retirement, death and resignation either to enter other work or to get married. In most Western European countries, marriage was perceived as the major factor to negatively affect women teachers' retention (Baron, 1965:118,215). Therefore, married women in England, for example, were forbidden from practising as teachers until 1944 (Morris, 1970:142). This certainly was a serious wastage of talent and experience in the teaching profession.

3.9.2.1.1.7. Insecurity of Tenure

Before 1918, there was no security of tenure, salary or some sort of pension scheme for teachers (ibid:235-6). In America, for instance, teachers were traditionally employed on an annual contract basis, which meant there was the risk of non-renewal of the contract or the renewal of the contract but at a quite different and lower salary. Pensions also varied from one education authority to another since there was no general Ministry of Education. The teachers in Britain and Europe were relatively securer (ibid:236).

Whenever there were a surplus of teachers or teaching posts became redundant, it was mainly the women who did not get employment or got retrenched. Firstly, in Britain, in 1927, there was a oversupply of teachers due to the over-production from the training colleges and it was women teachers who did not get appointments (Garrett, 1928:150-1). Secondly, during the Great Depression of 1930's there was a decrease in the enrolment at schools because of decline in the birth-rate and this resulted in excess teachers at schools. Many teachers became unemployed and thousands who had jobs were teaching for meagre salaries (Hansen, 1960:323). Thirdly, even with the lifting of the ban on married women from practising as teachers in England in 1944, they were and still are employed on a temporary or part-time basis (Figs, 1994:37,104). Pregnancy and child-care are two important risk factors which affect married women's renewal of contracts and retrenchment when jobs become redundant (ibid). All of the above factors generally deterred women from entering teaching. When other opportunities presented themselves or the conditions of service were levelled out for men and women, the position worsened. (vide 3.9.2.1.1.4.)

3.9.2.2. Intervention

Govt and voluntary agents had to take measures to solve the problem of teacher shortages from time to time. Their main strategies are reviewed.

3.9.2.2.1. Short Term Measures

Mass education of a kind was provided by philanthropists, church missions and other agencies in England prior to 1870, when the State stepped in to provide public education (Garrett, 1928:12). These providers needed teachers to deliver the 'goods' and they had already begun training teachers before the State intervened. Different strategies were devised to attain short-term goals. Firstly, married women teachers and retired teachers were re-employed; married women were employed even on a part-time basis. Secondly, any persons who had sufficient educational qualifications to teach were employed in spite of the risk of lowering the standards; for example, untrained women and girls straight from school were recruited as auxiliaries. Thirdly, class units were compressed although it resulted in over-crowded classrooms, women teachers were employed at boys' schools and

men were encouraged to teach in primary schools (Curtis & Boultonwood, 1962:178; Baron 1965:119). Fourthly, in the nineteenth century, women were trained and employed in large numbers, especially in the primary schools. Two factors favoured this strategy : women were paid less than men; women were considered to be more suitable than men for primary school teaching (Peterson, 1971:229). In England, women teachers are now being employed as part-timers, working flexible hours at lower pay in order to get them involved in teaching. Part-time workers now constitute about 20 percent of the work force in England (Figs, 1994:133).

3.9.2.2.2. Medium Term Measures

After the Second World War, teacher shortage became so acute that the Education Ministry in England had to launch the Emergency Training Scheme in 1943. The aim was to obtain men and women teachers from the Forces and other forms of national services. Among the applicants were married women who had their youngest children at school. The scheme started in 1945 when suitable buildings became available at the end of the war. The colleges offered a one-year course of intense training (Dent, 1961:34; Curtis & Boultonwood, 1962:373-4). According to Peterson (1971:245), to shorten the emergency training courses somewhat, married women were exempted from some of the academic requirements such as the psychology of education because of their intuitively gained understanding of children. Moreover, grants were made available to the applicants with families to support which included allowances for wives and children (Baron, 1965:218-9). When the scheme terminated in 1951, it had yielded 35 000 qualified teachers (23 000 men and 12 000 women) to the teaching force (Dent, 1961:34; Curtis & Boultonwood, 1962:373-4). About a third of these teachers were over thirty years of age (Baron, 1965:218).

3.9.2.2.3. Long Term Measures

Some of the long term strategies were the attention given to the training of teachers, the certification of teachers and the conditions of service of teachers.

Kerr (1960:12) pointedly says : "Secondary school teaching is in fact regarded as a profession, primary school work as a vocation." His statement reflects implicitly the

differential training, certification and remuneration of the primary and secondary school teachers in Western Europe and America.

3.9.2.2.3.1. The Training of Primary School Teachers

Generally, the term used to categorise those who taught in primary schools was schoolteachers and the larger majority of them were women. These came from the lower strata of the social scale and they did not belong to the academia. The duration of the training was normally two years. Girls chose it with the knowledge they would earn sooner and that they would resign as soon as they get married (Kerr, 1960:27).

The training of primary teachers began in the early nineteenth century in Britain and Europe. To cut the cost of training teachers, Bell and Lancaster introduced the 'Monitorial System' of training teachers into England in 1805. It was used to good effect until it was replaced by the 'Pupil-teacher System' (Dent, 1961:18; Behr, 1952:204). The latter system was introduced into England in 1846 and it was used to train a large number of teachers until it was phased out by the Education Act of 1902 (Curtis & Boulwood, 1961:364).

The greatest breakthrough in the training of schoolteachers was the establishment of publicly controlled training schools and colleges in the first half of nineteenth century. Before 1835 such training schools were established in France, Holland, Norway, Prussia, Switzerland and Scandinavia, and, in 1838 in America. But, in England only a semi-official training school was established by Kay-Shuttleworth in 1840 (Peterson, 1971: 222-4; Curtis & Boulwood, 1961:60; Balfour, 1903:9). Govts intervened when they had to provide mass education (Dent, 1961:19-20). (vide 3.9.2.2.1)

The most complete and logical system of training and certification of primary school teachers in Europe was introduced by Guizot²⁰ in France in 1834. To teach, the teachers had to produce certificates of ability and good moral character. To facilitate this, normal schools had to be established. These schools only accepted pupils from primary schools and trained them to teach in primary schools (Peterson, 1971:227). Generally, pupils in state primary schools did not proceed to secondary school. Primary school teachers in most

²⁰ Guizot, F : French Minister of Public Instruction from 1832 to 1837; introduced reforms in primary school education and teacher training (Hall, 1965:20; Roman, 1923:96)

European countries were discouraged from pursuing their own education beyond the elementary teacher training level for fear of producing dissatisfied and revolutionary teachers. This kind of stagnation of schoolteachers was most prominent in Prussia (ibid).

The position in France, England and America was different but in varying degrees. In France, the promising youths were given two years' intensive training in elementary subjects, with a year of pedagogics. In England, there was a greater variety. Pedagogics was not popular but the 'rule of the thumb' teaching techniques were preferred.

In addition to the institutions offering training courses (vide 3.9.2.2.2.), others provided three courses very nearly of secondary standard. In America, on the other hand, teacher training was established long before 1838 in private academies. The normal schools began with restricted curriculums but these schools provided pedagogics on a more advanced level than the European schools did. Actually, this was the beginning of the development of science of education. Between 1890 and 1894, primary school teacher training became a post-secondary course taken at a college. In the 1960's, the teacher training colleges in Britain, parts of Europe and the USA became linked to universities under the designation of colleges of education (ibid; Lowndes, 1970:356).

3.9.2.2.3.2. Secondary School Teachers

The secondary school teachers were called schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in most parts of Europe. They were university graduates; they were generally better remunerated and more likely to have got promotions than primary school teachers (Kerr, 1960:26-7). The supply and training of teachers was not an issue until the end of the nineteenth century because secondary education was largely the privilege of the wealthy classes. So, as long as the parents were prepared to pay the teachers, there was no serious shortage of secondary teachers (Peterson, 1971:233).

Generally, the secondary teachers received little or no pedagogical training (Kerr, 1960:26). It was commonly believed that the acquisition of academic knowledge was sufficient to teach at secondary level and that 'it was useless to learn to teach' to teach at secondary level. But, in Germany, graduate secondary teachers had, since 1810, to serve a two-year probation to gain practice, and in France the candidates' university course

included teacher training (ibid).

University education for women began in London in 1840. As more places in secondary schools for girls began to develop, the need for a supply of women secondary teachers, well-trained academically and professionally, arose. Gradually, between 1870 and 1948, women were admitted on an equal footing with men to the major universities in Britain (Dent, 1961:22;)

3.9.3. Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics

As some educationists perceive Russian education as having had an influence on the English system, this section is included to provide some insight. Of particular interest is the parallel between England and Russia in terms of female education.

3.9.3.1. Status of Teachers

Traditionally, the Russians held the teachers and scholars in high esteem. King (1948:95 says

"It is probably true that in no other country in the world is the teacher esteemed so highly by the whole people as in the Soviet Union." But this was not the case in the early years of the Soviet regime, when the teachers were generally ill-qualified, underpaid, overworked at school and required to participate in communist agitation and propaganda campaigns

(Fulsom, 1957:201)

Seregny (1989:4) adds that the low professional status was also attributable to feminisation, the high rates of turnover owing to lesser commitment and subordinate status within a bureaucracy that restricted autonomy.

3.9.3.2. Teacher Shortages

There is no evidence of a significant shortage of (women) teachers in the USSR before perestroika. The Russian had begun addressing the problem of teacher shortage before the 1950's. They had realised that gaining world power status depended on the supply of highly skilled professional and technical personnel (Seregny, 1989: 17; MacMillan, 1958). So highly did the Russians consider their educational system that they paid their teachers

one third more than they paid their doctors (MacMillan, 1958). In addition, teachers in the rural areas were provided free housing and land for grazing livestock as fringe benefits; the teachers in isolated areas like the Arctic region received between 20 percent and 50 percent more pay (Fulsom, 1957:215-6).

Other strategies were also adopted to aid teacher supply. Firstly, the Soviet teachers were generally overworked - the city teachers frequently taught a double shift and the rural teachers taught the youth and adults in evening schools (Fulsom, 1957:215). Secondly, personnel from other sectors were moved to schools to facilitate the provision of education; for example, scientists from factories could have been seconded for part of the day to schools where there were shortages of science teachers (Kerr, 1960:194). Thirdly, teacher education received due attention since the 1950's. Practising teachers and aspirant teachers from the other sectors were encouraged to update teaching qualifications. (vide 3.9.3.4.2) As incentives, the teachers were granted paid and unpaid leave to attend classes and prepare for examinations and short courses of four-month duration were arranged. By the mid-1970's, about 50 000 teachers were trained annually under this scheme (Matthew, 1982:136-141). Fourthly, the supply of women teachers appears to have been less of a problem in the USSR for two reasons : as in England there was early provision of education for females (Peterson, 1971:162); the absence of sexual division of labour on lines of western stereotypes (Kerr, 1960:51-2).

3.9.3.3. Sexual Division of Labour in Schools.

In 1955-6, of the total in the teaching profession, about 80 percent were women (Fulsom, 1957:214). More women taught in the primary grades and more men taught in the senior secondary grades (ibid). Since the early days of the USSR, women were generally trained to teach the elementary grades (Grant, 1972:133). In 1947, about 35 percent of the higher education and professional training teaching staff was composed of women (De Witt, 1955:170). But, according to Mukherji (1995:356), about 65 percent of the elementary teachers are still women

3.9.3.4. Teacher Training

In 1972, teacher training in the USSR, as in many continental countries, was still based on separate institutions for different grades of teachers. Since 1952, the trend was to reduce the number of the different kinds of teacher training institutions. Since then teachers have received their basic training at three different types of institutions - pedagogic schools, pedagogic institutes and universities (Grant, 1972:132; Fulsom, 1957:202).

3.9.3.4.1. Pedagogic Schools

The Soviet elementary school teachers were trained in the pedagogic schools (Grant, 1972:132; De Witt, 1955:70). As recently as 1972, it was possible for pupils to transfer from the general school at the end of the eighth form, at age fifteen, straight into teacher training at the pedagogic schools (Grant, 1972:132-3). These schools offered two main types of courses : a four-year course for teachers of elementary classes of eight-year schooling; a three-and-a-half-year course for kindergarten teachers. In the Russian areas, the vast majority of the students were girls but in the non-Russian areas, eg the Central Asian Republic with their strong Muslim tradition, the proportion of females was about 50 percent or 60 percent (Grant, 1972:133). The curriculum comprised general subjects offered at the ten-year school plus educational subjects (teaching methods, psychology, pedagogy etc.), music and drawing. In the whole of the USSR, in 1972, there were 367 pedagogic schools - 280 offering primary courses, 171 offering kindergarten courses and 106 offering music, drawing and physical education courses. There was a move to train only kindergarten teachers at the pedagogic schools and transfer the others to the pedagogic institute but the shortage of teachers forestalled it (ibid:133-4).

3.9.3.4.2. Pedagogic Institutes

Originally, the pedagogic institutes trained only specialist teachers for the upper forms of the secondary schools but soon they began training primary school and pre-school teachers (ibid:134; De Witt, 1955:134). The courses were of four or five year duration for the secondary teachers and four years for the others (Grant, 1972:134).

Entrance to the pedagogic institutes was decided by competitive examination, character



reference and priority listing. Only 20 percent of the entrants were selected straight from secondary schools and the other 80 percent were applicants who had done two or three years of practical work. Some of those with work experience came from factories, farms or armed forces but many were teachers who had taught in the primary schools, wanting to upgrade their qualifications (ibid:134-5; Fulsom, 1957:203). (vide 3.9.3.2)

The curriculum in the pedagogic institutes was divided into three main areas : political and general courses to all students everywhere, educational theory and special subjects (ibid:135). Teaching practice ranged from a total of 16 to 19 weeks, starting in the third or fourth year (Grant, 1972:134).

3.9.3.4.3. Universities

As in England, it was possible in the USSR to go into teaching direct with a university degree, without any professional training. But, unlike the English universities, those of the USSR prepared the students for teaching by including pedagogic subjects, teaching methods and practice teaching in the basic course (Grant, 1972:7).

Teachers for the secondary schools were generally trained at the universities since 1921 (Fulsom, 1957:203). But, training in other institutions emerged in 1935, when the shortage of secondary teachers was very acute (De Witt, 1955:135). The expectation of the Soviet Govt was for the universities to direct a large number of graduates, especially the Maths and Science teachers, into the teaching profession but the proportion directed was small compared to those of the pedagogic institutes. In 1959, for example, the institutes produced eight times more new teachers than the universities.

The training given was on the same line as the pedagogic institutes but emphasis was on Maths, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography, History and Philosophy (Grant, 1972:137; Fulsom, 1957:203-4). There was less teaching practice - about two months. Study on special subjects was a good deal deeper than the study at the institutes. Students needed to offer only one subject speciality. However, the pitfall in the university training system was that the students produced were less competent and less well versed in educational theory (Grant, 1972:137).

3.9.4. India

Girls' education has always lagged in India because of the lack of material and human resources. One great difficulty encountered in the running of girls' institutions was and still is the shortage of women teachers. Mukherji (1995:356) presents the dilemma thus:

...unless we can provide enough lady teachers, we cannot educate a large number of girls, and unless we are able to spread female education, we cannot get lady teachers for the institutions.

Several factors negatively affect the supply and training of women teachers in India.

3.9.4.1. Factors Related to the Shortage of Women Teachers

3.9.4.1.1. Imbalance in Geographical Distribution

Generally, there is a greater shortage of women teachers in the rural areas than the urban areas (Mukherji, 1995:357). In 1928, the All India Conference found that the reason was that the population was concentrated there. This conference cited loneliness and the lack of suitable lodgings and other facilities as deterrents to women teachers' taking up posts in the rural areas (Sharma & Sharma, 1995:30). In addition, the unexciting lifestyle in the rural villages is not inviting to younger women. Even the rural girls who qualify in the towns and cities are reluctant to return to their native villages to teach (Chaudary, 1995:106). Married women teachers are deterred from taking rural posts mainly because most of the spouses are employed in the towns or cities and when their husbands relocate the women have to follow them (Mukherji, 1995:337-8).

3.9.4.1.2. Social Attitudes

The conservativeness of the Indians impact negatively on the women teachers. They face a certain degree of resistance from their families to their employment in the rural areas. This is partly due to the general apprehension against women working and staying away from home and partly to the insecurity prevalent in some villages. Moreover, there is the perceived antagonism or hostility from the villagers towards the 'foreign' teachers. All of these factors discourage the women teachers from taking posts in rural areas.

On the other hand, educated women from the upper caste or classes enjoy too much of social and economic security for them to take teaching as a career. Sharma & Sharma (1995:30) insinuate that these women despise the teaching profession.

3.9.4.1.3. Lack of Physical Amenities

The lack of amenities such as modern medical facilities, proper accommodation, schooling and transport for their children are difficulties which deter women teachers from giving service in the rural schools. The problem of accommodation is more acute with married women if they have to work away from their families (Sharma & Sharma, 1995:366; Mukherji, 1995: 337-8).

3.9.4.1.4. Low Salaries and Status

The salaries paid to women teachers was generally too low to attract many women to the profession. In 1933, for example, women teachers in Bengal earned eight rupees and in Bihar eleven rupees a month (Gray, 1995:260). In 1950, the maximum salaries for teachers in India ranged between 45 and 130 rupees per month (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:175).

Prior to the world wars and the industrial revolution, the status of women in India was very low. The majority of them were denied access to education. It is probable, therefore, that the professions such as teaching and medicine were professions of men (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:204). Hence, the disproportion in the number of women teachers in comparison to men. For example, in 1956, there were 574 182 men and 117 067 women teachers in elementary schools and 297 259 men and 58 929 women teachers in secondary schools (Mukherji, 1995:356).

3.9.4.1.5. Wastage

The general attitude in India was that education was unnecessary and undesirable for females (Sharma & Sharma, 1995:368; Cousins, 1995:381). Hence, the large scale non-attendance and attrition among school-age girls. The more serious problem, mostly in the rural areas was the practice of child labour (Chaudary, 1995:95-6). Chaudary (1995)

argues that between 1971 and 1981 there was actually an increase in the practice of female child labour in India. All of this results in negligible or zero pupil turnover at school, drastically reducing girls' chances of becoming teachers. (vide 3.3.2.)

The practices of early marriage and the purdah system prohibited the girls from remaining in the education system long enough to qualify as teachers. In spite of the marriageable age being raised in stages since 1929, marriage has remained a major impediment to the work of the women teachers in India. Women perceive marriage as a necessary part of life and therefore many abandon teaching upon marriage. This means that their experience, education and teaching skills are lost the profession (Mukherji, 1995:356-7). Furthermore, all the expenditure incurred by the education of the women, borne by the State and the parents goes to waste when women are completely domesticated after marriage (Das, 1995:68-9).

3.9.4.1.6. Stagnation of Women

Between 1931 and 1941, male literacy rose from 12 percent to 22 percent, but female literacy remained practically unchanged (Menon, 1995:345). Social customs and prejudices were largely responsible for this. The parents' insistence on the girls being taught in single-sex schools by women worsened the problem, adding to the stunting of female education. As a result of this stagnation, in 1950, about 71 percent of the women teachers were trained and 29 percent were untrained (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:174).

3.9.4.2. Intervention

Since the 1880's the different education committees and commissions recommended the expansion of women's education in India. The Govt and the voluntary organisations had to train women teachers as one of the strategies to address the issue of girls' education. Some of the recommendations are reviewed.

3.9.4.2.1. Emancipation from *Purdah* and Child Marriage

The Sarda Act of 1929 raised the marriage age of girls to 14 and later to 16 (Sharma & Sharma, 1995:459). The opposition to *purdah*, initiated by Gandhi in 1926, gained

momentum. Within the last 30 years, these systems had faded away and mixed schools are now common (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:200). The weakening of these customs has improved the retention of the girls at school and thereby furthered expansion of the girls' education, especially after Independence (Sharma & Sharma, 1995 :459; Nath, 1995:84).

3.9.4.2.2. Provision of Higher Education

To circumvent the high drop-out rate as experienced between 1946 and 1949, the Govt had to intervene. (vide 3.9.4.1.5) The National plan was to implement free, compulsory education for all girls and boys of age-group 6-14, so that they could proceed to the middle school and beyond (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:171-2). The growth was very slow, however (ibid:179). In some States of India, compulsory education for girls has increased retention at school (Tennant, 1995:157).

3.9.4.2.3. Teacher Training

The church missions took the lead in training teachers to help them to provide education for the girls. The missions seem to have had more success in the Southern States of India. According to Gray (1995:270), there was the absence of the *purdah* system but a much wider diffusion of Christianity in Madras State. He argues that therefore the girls appear to have had a better chance of getting an education.

Women are trained to teach in the primary schools after receiving Class VII or Class VIII level of education. The training period extends over one or two years. The teachers are trained at training schools generally but, some of these schools are attached to secondary schools. In 1950, 512 000 women teachers were trained for primary school work (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:174). Today there are 200 training schools for women training about 10 000 primary school teachers per year (ibid :203).

The minimum qualification for secondary school teachers is a bachelor's degree with one-year training at a teachers' training college. In 1950-1, about 16 percent of the secondary school teachers were women and of them about 60.6 percent were trained and the remainder were untrained (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:182-3).

Today, the SNDT Women's University in Mumbai and other coeducational universities have expanded women teachers' education. There are also 16 training colleges for women turning out 880 women secondary teachers per year. Some of the men's training schools and colleges also admit women trainees (ibid :203-5).

3.9.4.4. Measures taken to Attract Women to Teaching

3.9.4.4.1. Accommodation and Allowance

The Govt has made provision for living quarters for female teachers in rural areas. Presently, about 50 percent of such teachers are accommodated. In addition, these teachers are paid a special allowance for serving in the rural schools (Sankhala, 1995:245; Deshmukh, 1995:288-9).

3.9.4.4.2. Educational Programmes to Upgrade Underqualified Women

Several concessionary measures were taken to upgrade women's qualifications so that they could enter the teaching profession.

A. Condensed Courses: The CSWB offered condensed courses for adult women, aged 20-25. These courses were arranged for women who were literate but did not complete the minimum standard (Class VIII) required to become teachers. The courses extend over two years and the preparatory classes are usually attached to women's training schools. Preference is given to rural women (Sharma & Sharma, 1995:330; Kundu, 1995:151; Deshmukh, 1995:248-9; Saran, 1995:297; Devadhar, 1995:183).

B. Teacher Training & Employment: The minimum entrance qualification to training institutions has been relaxed. In Rajasthan, for example, the requirement was lowered from matriculation to middle school standard for girls and women entering teaching in the rural areas. The maximum age for appointment has been raised from 25 to 35 and the retirement age from 55 to 58 (Sankhala, 1995:246).

C. Financial Aid: In 1966, needy women in the CSWB upGr programmes were given grants of 20 rupees per month until they had completed the programme (Deshmukh, 1995:248-9).

In some States stipends are paid to women teacher trainees. In Rajasthan, for example, women students in training schools received 25 rupees and those in training colleges, 40 rupees per month. Grants and scholarships are also given to the poor women, especially the widows, the women of the disadvantaged classes and deserving girl pupils to progress with their education with the aim of becoming teachers. Preference is given to rural girls and women (Sankhala, 1995:245-9; Sharma & Sharma, 1995:330-1; Devadhar, 1995:183-5).

3.9.4.4.3. Other Incentives

A. *Equal Pay*: The pay for teachers was raised to commensurate with the rise in the cost of living. There is no distinction between the pay scales and allowances paid to men and women teachers on the same Gr. If there was a differentiation it counted in favour of the women because of the comparative scarcity of women teachers (Sharma & Sharma, 1995:272; Joshi & Shukla, 1995:175).

B. *Pension Scheme*: the triple-benefit scheme, the Pension-cum-Provident Fund-cum-Insurance Scheme was made applicable to every teacher employed permanently (Sharma & Sharma, 1995:272).

3.9.4.4.4. Part-time Employment

To make family life and teaching compatible, women teachers are sometimes employed part-time, on a shift basis, at a lower salary. This is to ensure there is less wastage of qualified married women teachers (Kundu, 1995 :151).

3.10. Resume

In early KZN, the provision of education was largely informal and the teaching was done mainly by quack teachers. The parents hired notably itinerant teachers to teach their children in makeshift schools. The wealthy parents hired private tutors or governesses to teach their daughters in their homes and, in urban settings, the girls were sent to private schools where overseas trained women teachers taught.

When the Missionaries became involved in the provision of education they began training teachers in their schools. For many years private institutions and the missions trained most of the teachers in KZN and the State played a marginal role by subsidising these enterprises. But, when education became politicised in the 1870's, the State intervened in the training of teachers for the burgeoning State and State-aided schools. With education becoming formalised, there arose the need for the services of the professional teacher. Therefore the Govt opened training schools and later training colleges such the Natal Training College, Springfield Training College and Bechet Training College for Whites, Indians and Coloureds respectively. But the training of African teachers continued at the missions schools such as Adams Mission and St Hilda's until the passing of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, when the State closed the mission training schools and assumed the training of African teachers at State teacher training colleges.

In all communities, qualified teachers were always in short supply. The low status and poor pay were identified as the main causes of teacher shortage in the White community. On the other hand, wastage and the lack of free and compulsory education were the inherent factors in the Black communities. The economic deprivations and the Black parents' negative attitude to their daughters' education prohibited the girls from remaining the education system long enough to qualify as teachers. Another major factor was that married women in all race groups were compelled to relinquish their posts upon marriage. The State intervened to overcome the teacher shortages. Several strategies were adopted : the recruitment and importation of foreign teachers; re-employment of retired teachers, re-employment of married women on a temporary or permanent basis; the training of new teachers; and the employment of personnel with non-teaching qualification in times of dire need. To overcome the problem of qualification, women with low qualifications were allowed either to teach in rural areas or train as teachers. The dilution of qualifications applied mainly to Black women teachers.

Different systems of teacher training were implemented from time to time to balance the demand for and supply of teacher. The pupil-teacher method teaching was the most popular system. It was first used in the mission schools and later in the Govt schools. This system was phased out when students with qualifications of Gr 10 or 12 were trained at training schools, usually attached to secondary schools. Later when full teacher training colleges were opened, training schools such as Sastri College and Adams College

discontinued with teacher training. Generally, the training colleges trained primary school teachers and the universities the secondary teachers.

Women teachers were concentrated in the primary schools, teaching mainly in pre-primary and JP phases. Training colleges concentrated on training women to teach in primary schools, for example, certain Depts of Education offered the JP/LP courses to women only. Even the pay differentials entrenched the division of work on these lines because in African education, for instance, men were paid the women's rate of pay if they opted to teach LP classes and only women were promoted to posts of principal in LP schools. Although an increasing number of women were entering the secondary schools, they were teaching mainly the lower Grades. A small number of women were teaching in the universities. Women were given opportunities to take degrees and diplomas at universities established for each race group.

Teaching is presently dominated by women in KZN, although in some communities it was different before the 1970's. There were several reasons for the change. Firstly, the different Govt used more women teachers when they wanted to provide for the Blacks from 1953; it was an expedient to save because women commanded a lower salary. White men generally avoided teaching because of the low pay. Secondly, when the Black girls were liberated, they remained in school long enough to qualify as teachers. Thirdly, the educated Black women had no other opportunities but teaching as a profession. Fourthly, most women found teaching to be most compatible with motherhood and wifehood. Moreover, the improvement in childcare facilities has freed the women to practise as teachers.

There are many similarities in the patterns of training and supply of teachers in Britain, America, Europe and India to that which obtained in KZN. First, the status and pay of the teachers in all the countries were and still are low. Evidence at hand reveals that the social and economic statuses were so low at times that some teachers in America and KZN resorted to teaching for food and lodging. Second, wastage was a serious factor in India and KZN, where the girls did not remain in the education system long enough to qualify as teachers and when they did qualify they left the profession upon marriage. Third, women were trained and used in large numbers to provide mass education in Britain (1870), India (1880) and KZN (1953). As an expedient to increase supply, entrance qualifications were lowered and training courses diluted especially for girls and women in disadvantaged

communities. Fourth, the Indian females in India and KZN were liberated around 1930. The Sarda Act of 1929 outlawed the *pardah* system and child marriage in India and to coincide with it Indian women were admitted to train as teachers in the co-educational Sastri College in KZN.

This chapter dealt with the development of the teaching profession and the entry of women into and the subsequent feminisation of the profession. But these processes were viewed largely from the social and political perspectives. The next chapter presents an overview of the conditions under which the teachers worked from the political and economic perspectives.

CHAPTER 4

KZN Women Teachers : Conditions of Service

4.1. Introduction

In chapters 2 and 3, the focus was on the historical development of the education of females and the training and feminisation of teachers in KZN province. Evidence is that the parents and the society at large (including the religious institutions) had an important influence on these developments. In this chapter, therefore, the focus shifts to the Official position with regard to the women teachers.

One of the main purposes of the study is to investigate the conditions under which the women teachers have worked in the past and are working at present. It was considered that this area of investigation is of utmost importance for establishing a context for the study. The data derived from this investigation is presented as an overview of the official policies and practices as they are obtained largely in Govt or Govt-aided schools, covering the period 1850-2000.

As this chapter was meant to reflect the Official attitude towards the women teachers, primary sources such as Govt documents and publications and secondary sources such as teachers' journals, periodicals and newspapers were consulted. These sources were studied and the data were presented from a feminist perspective. The issues affecting women teachers such as qualifications for teaching, status, tenure, pension schemes, salaries and other service benefits are presented in broad outline.

4.2. Background

4.2.1. Legal Status of Teachers

Although teachers were employed at schools, both private and public, since the establishment of Natal as a Colony no evidence was found of their conditions of service on the Statute Books until 1898. With the passing of Act No. 25, 1898, on 15 August 1898, as an amendment to the Civil Service Act of 1894, the Dept of Education was declared to be a Dept of the Dept of the Civil Service in the Colony of Natal. Thereby, the teachers were deemed to be members of the Civil Service and became entitled to the benefits of the principal Act (Civil Service Act, 1894) (NGG No. 2971, 23/08/1898, p.1551).

4.2.2. Qualifications Required for Membership of Civil Service

To be admitted as members of the Civil Service, teachers had to have four qualifications, basically. They had to be: over 16 years but under 25 years of age; free from physical defects or diseases which would have interfered with the proper discharge of their duties; of good character and free from any legal disability; have passed a public examination that would qualify them for the Civil Service (ibid).

To sum up, teachers gained legal status only in 1894. As they were part of the Civil Service in the Natal Colony, they apparently did not need to have any specialised qualifications to teach.

Since it took almost 44 years for teachers to gain legal status in KZN province, the assumption is that only the less powerful members of the communities would have been employed as teachers. The White males being employed in the powerful Civil service or engaged in business, the teachers would have been mostly the White women and Black men and women.

4.3. Teachers' Professional Qualifications

4.3.1. The Training of Teachers

Teacher training in Natal received serious Govt attention only in the 1920's (Report of the SOE, Natal, 1920, p.4; 1926, pp.32-4). Prior to this date, training of teachers was done mainly by the missions and Govt model schools in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. In fact, in 1882 Durban had four model schools for White girls with no less than 340 aspirant teachers in them (Van der Linde, 1994:107). The most popular means of training teachers were the Monitorial and the Pupil-teacher Systems. (vide 3.4.1. & 3.4.2.).

4.3.2. Licence to Teach

As a recognition of long service, the Natal DOE granted to a professionally unqualified or a partly qualified teacher a teaching certificate known as a 'Licence to Teach'. A Licence to teach was considered a professional qualification (NPG No.1911, 13 /01/1944, p.23). This dispensation was extended to African teachers in 1944 (ibid); to White, Coloured and Indian teachers in 1946 (NPG No.2040, 28/03/1946, p.221; NPG No. 2136, 27/11/1947, p.1642). In Coloured and Indian education the practice of granting Licences to Teach appears to have had a limited life span. In Indian education, for example, it was

discontinued in 1976 (GGE No.1519, 26/08/1966, p.15).

4.3.3. Uncertificated Teachers

Teachers who did not possess the minimum qualifications for classification into one of the categories laid down by regulations from time to time were generally classified as uncertificated by the different Depts of Education. Uncertificated teachers were employed on a temporary basis and paid fixed salaries until they upgraded their qualifications to recognisable levels (GGE, No.661, 04/12/1963, pp. 10-11). In terms of the figures supplied by the Dept of National Education for 1989, the large majority of unqualified and underqualified teachers were the Africans, followed by the Coloureds (Kotecha, 1994:82-83).

In short, the Natal Govt gave serious attention to teacher training only in the 1920's. Previously, most of the teachers were trained by the missions. Teachers without qualifications were classified as uncertificated teachers and employed as temporary teachers on fixed pay. Unqualified teachers with long satisfactory service were awarded the 'Licence to Teach' certificate. The tardiness in recognising the specialised training for teachers appears to be the main reason for the non-recognition of teaching as a profession until 1960's. This tardiness seems to have stemmed from the fact that historically the White men avoided taking teaching as a career. The rationale for 'neglecting' teacher training could have been that since teaching was a woman's job and that it resembled motherhood and housework it needed no real training as such. There could have been another perspective to the problem. The lawmakers could have been influenced by the thinking in Europe at the time that if the incumbent had academic qualification she/he is fit to teach (Peterson, 1971).

4.4. Employment of Teachers

4.4.1. Employment Status of Teachers

Teachers were generally employed in the following capacities: permanent; temporary; locum tenens. The temporary teachers were employed for fixed periods or indefinitely in full-time or part-time capacities. The locos tenentes were employed for fixed periods in full-time or part-time capacities. These teachers had to vacate their positions when the

bonafide teachers resumed duty. The permanent teachers were the qualified teachers whose positions became secure after one or two years of probationary service. Of course, they had to be inspected by the SOE for efficiency and conduct before being granted permanent status (Schools Handbook, Ch B, pp. 4-5).

4.4.2. Employment Status of Married Women Teachers

The Public Service and Pensions Act, 1923, stipulated that a female officer (teacher), upon her marriage, had to retire from her appointment as from the date of marriage unless the Public Service Commission recommended otherwise (UGE No.1519, 17/12/1925, p. x). This rule did not, however, apply to married women teachers who were in the employment of the Natal Provincial Dept before 15 May 1903 (NPG No.143, 31/10/1912, p.754). But, according to Public Service Act, 1957 (Act No.54 of 1957), female teachers were deemed to have retired voluntarily from the public service in contemplation of marriage with effect from the date of marriage or the day after, unless the Public Service Commission recommended and the Minister of Education or the Administrator of the Province approved that they be retained in the Public Service (SUSA, 1957:830).

Spinsters, therefore, lost the status of permanent teachers through the change of their marital status. If married women teachers were re-employed, they were employed in temporary assistant capacities (Mentor, 1979,61(5): 204). There were distinct disadvantages attached to temporary employment. The most important of these was job insecurity as these teachers could have been given twenty-four hours' notice of termination. Of course, they were at liberty to give twenty-four hours' notice if they wished to resign, but the advantages of this system were weighted entirely in the Dept's favour. For example, in the case of a school being overstaffed, it was expedient for the Dept to retrench a temporary rather than a permanent teacher (Mentor, 1979,61(1): 6).

In White education, as from 1 January 1959, with the amendment of Provincial Notice No. 524 of 1947, there was a new dispensation. White married female teachers were given the opportunity of joining the permanent teaching establishment and from that date onwards, White unmarried female teachers were no longer required on marriage to relinquish their positions (Mentor, 1958, 40(7): 37). With effect from 1 January 1959, White married women teachers were admitted to the permanent teaching establishment, subject to the

production of satisfactory medical certificates (Mentor, 1960, 42(2): 7). Of course, any married White woman teacher could have been appointed in the service of the Dept in a permanent capacity by the Minister (GGE No.668, 13/12/1963, p.6). But this dispensation was altered in 1977 as the NED laid down a condition, that no more married women were to be appointed to the permanent staff unless they were regarded as breadwinners by the Dept (Mentor, 1979, 61(5): 205). The Director seems to have exercised Article 4 of the regulation, Chapter 5 of the Education Ordinance (1953) which states that a female teacher could be appointed to the post only if the Administrator was convinced that it was necessary for that teacher to contribute financial support to her husband and her children (Van der Linde, 1994:109). This regulation placed certain categories of married women in a very vulnerable position because the definition of 'breadwinner' was most unsatisfactory. For example, this definition excluded women who supported their student/unemployed husbands. In spite of being subjected to dismissal at twenty-four hours' notice, they were excluded from contributing to the UIF (ibid). (vide 4.6.2.)

Indian women teachers became eligible for permanent appointment in 1960 (Minutes of the Provincial Council of Natal, No.1, 8/3/1960, p. 2). In Indian Education the requirements for appointment of married women in a permanent capacity were, however, more demanding. Firstly, they had to be in possession of qualifications equivalent to at least M + 3. Women with qualifications lower than this had to have at least five years continuous service in the Dept of Indian Education teaching JP classes or one of the following subjects: Afrikaans, Domestic Science/Needlework, Music and Physical Education. Secondly, women with an M+3 qualification had to have received fair service reports and those with lower qualifications, satisfactory service reports. Thirdly, they had to get written statements from their husbands or future husbands that they had no objections to their wives being appointed in a permanent capacity. Fourthly, the temporary married women teachers who complied with these conditions and who wished to be appointed in a permanent capacity had to submit written applications to the DOE (Schools Handbook, Ch B, pp. 4-5). In Coloured Education, to be appointed in a permanent capacity, the teachers had to be in possession of a recognised bilingual certificate. But, this provision did not apply to teachers if and as long as the subject or subjects taught or the duties performed by them did not require bilingual certificates (GGE No.661, 04/12/1963, p. 8).

Restrictions on the employment of married women teachers were most stringently applied in African Education. Provincial Notice 223/1934 states that married women teachers' services terminated as from the date of their marriage but in certain circumstances married women were re-appointed as teachers (NPG No.1381, 05/07/1934, p.528). But, no married woman was to have been employed as a teacher without special permission of the DOE (NPG No.1769, 29/05/1941, p.471). No married women whose husbands were alive were to be appointed unless they had entered into notarial deeds of separation or had been judicially separated. But in the event that these women resumed conjugal relations with their husbands or their judicial separation was revoked by mutual consent, their services had to be terminated immediately (NPG No.1381, 05/07/1934, pp.528-9; NPG No. 2136,27/11/1947, p.1635). In addition, no married women teachers were to be re-appointed without special permission of the SOE or the DOE (NTJ, 1932, 11(2): 103; NPG No.1769, 29/05/1941, p.471).

But, married women teachers automatically retained their permanent status after marriage as from: Whites 01/01/1970; Indians 01/10/1977; Africans 01/01/1980; Coloureds 05/04/1984. Coloureds, however, retained their permanent status between 1984 and 1994 only at the discretion of the Minister, who had the power to discharge them when they got married (Kotecha, 1994:80).

Presently, if a single woman teacher holds a permanent post and subsequently marries, she does not forgo her permanency, provided that she informs the Dept of her marital status and submits her marriage certificate (Ismail, 1994:126).

In summary, most of the permanent teachers were qualified teachers who had served a probationary period. Prior to 1994 women lost their permanent status on the day they got married. However, married women were allowed to apply for and gained permanent status, beginning with Whites in 1959 and extending to other race groups later. The rule was rescinded for Whites in 1970, Indians in 1977, Africans in 1980 and Coloureds in 1984. Evidence is that the non-employment of married women was most stringently applied in African Education. The temporary status of the married women had very serious implications for their professional work as teachers. Their temporary status carried with it all sorts of discrimination, which in turn reduced their professional status to a low level. The writer's inner feeling is that such discriminatory practices stemmed from religious

(Christian, Hindu and Islamic) ideology that the 'women's place is in the home.' It is contended that the aim of such laws was to return the married to the 'kitchen' so that they were not in competition with men in the marketplace. Capital also exploited this ideology, as it saw the housewife as a helpmate to the male worker and the producer of the future workers. By providing the worker with warmth and comfort the housewife ensured that capital had a happy and healthy worker. Moreover, the housewife subsidised the lower wage of the worker since housework was unpaid work if done by the house (Haralambos, 1984).

4.5. Pension Scheme

4.5.1. Historical Development of Natal Teachers Pension Fund.

By Act 25,1898, teachers under the old Natal Govt became eligible for membership of the Natal Civil Service Superannuation Scheme established under Act 21,1894 (NGG, 23/8/1898, p. 1551). They remained eligible for admission to this Scheme until 1906 when it was closed to all except Civil Servants (Mentor, 1955,37(2): 5). In 1910, the Natal Legislature passed Act 1,1910, setting up the Public Service Superannuation Fund to which all teachers were admitted. This fund was replaced by the UPF for Civil Servants in 1912 and the NPTF in 1913 (Ordinance 7/1913). The ' Non-European' Teachers' Provident Fund for Black teachers was established in 1930, but this Fund did not meet the need for the payment of a pension instead of a gratuity (Minutes of the Provincial Council of Natal, 1932, p.8). In 1949, Indian and Coloured teachers were permitted to become members of the NTPF (Report of the DOE, Natal, 1949, p.14). In 1959, under the Pension Law Amendment Act, 1959 (Act No. 67 of 1959), African teachers had the option to withdraw from other pension funds and join the UPF (SUSA, 1959:1142-1144). In 1955, the GSPF was established under the Govt Service Pensions Act, 1955 (Act No. 58 of 1955) (SUSA, 1955: 1374). From 18 June 1973, every previous pension fund ceased to exist and all such funds were consolidated into one single pension fund named the GSPF (GG No.3934, 18 /06/1973, p.8). All members, irrespective of their race group, of the previous pension funds were admitted to the GSPF (ibid: 16)). From 1 October 1979, temporary teacher were admitted to the TEPF (Schools Handbook, Ch B, pp 51-52).

4.5.2. Admission To Pension Fund

Law No. 22 of 1874 (Pensions' Law, 1874) laid down that officers of the Public Service could be admitted to the Pension Fund provided that they were on the permanent staff and earned minimum salaries of £50 p.a. (NGG No.1493, 6/10/1874, p. 592). In terms of Ordinance No 7 of 1913, all teachers in Natal who were not members of other pension funds were obliged to join the NTPF. The following conditions applied to aspirant members. They were to have been: 18 years and older but under 40 years old; earning salaries of not less than £80 p.a.; employed in permanent capacity; employed at Govt schools (NPG No.185, 31/07/1913, p.516). In 1943, teachers in the State-aided schools were included (Manohar, 1971:98; Behr, 1984:265; Nair, 1975:29).

4.5.3. Members' Contributions

In terms of the Civil Service Act, 1894, all members admitted to the Civil Service Superannuation Scheme had to contribute, monthly, to the Fund at the rate of 3 percent of the annual salary (NGG No.2698, 25/09/1894, p. 1346). In terms of Ordinance No. 7 of 1913, when teachers were admitted to the NTPF, they had to contribute 4 percent of their pensionable emoluments to this Fund (NPG No. 185, 31/07/1913, p.516). Leave over 14 days without pay was considered non-pensionable service and persons who entered the teaching service after the minimum age (18) were allowed to ante-date their pensionable service (*ibid*). The rate of contribution was raised to 4.5 percent in 1933 and 5.5 percent in 1940, both increases being the outcome of actuarial deficits (Mentor, 1955,37(2): 5). The temporary teachers contributed to the TEPF at the rate 5 percent of their salaries regardless of gender (Schools Handbook, Ch B, pp 51-52) and the Dept contributed 10 percent (Kotecha, 1994:80).

A significant feature of Ordinance No.12,1946, was that, for the first time, a differentiation was made in the rates of men and women, the women paying 1 percent more than the men for all age groups (NPG No.2064,08/08/1946, pp.835-7). This differentiation was intended to accommodate the optional early retirement of women. It was argued that since it would have become necessary to pay pensions to women for longer periods, it would have placed a greater liability on the Pension Fund (Mentor, 1955,37(2):6). (*vide* 4.5.4.1). Another differentiation in contributions to the pension fund was introduced by passing of the Public

Service Act, 1923 (Act No. 27 of 1923) when every male member of this Fund had to contribute 1 percent or more of his salary to the UWPF. In the GSPF, the contribution rate for women was less favourable than for men because a male teacher contributed 8 percent of his salary and the female contributed 6 percent. The two percent difference was meant to provide for a widow's pension. (vide 4.5.7.2.) There was also discrimination in the amount contributed by the Dept for the members: 21.99 percent for men and 16.49 percent for women. Different contributions yielded different benefits (Kotecha, 1994:80) .

On the positive side, periods of temporary service preceding permanent appointment could have made pensionable by election and the payment of the arrear contributions in instalments over a period of time. What is significant about this provision is that since 1955, a married woman employed on temporary staff who lost her husband could have also ante-dated her pensionable service (Mentor, 1955,37(2):10).

Since 1898, when the White teachers were admitted to the pension fund, many funds were established and disestablished but in 1973 a single fund, the GSPF, for all race groups was established. In the beginning, only permanent teachers who were 18 but under 40 years, earning a minimum of £50 and teaching in Govt schools were admitted to the fund. In 1943, teachers in Govt-aided schools were also admitted. It appears that men and women paid the same percentage of their salaries into the pension fund but the employer paid about 5 percent more in favour of men. But in 1946, the women contributed one percent more than men to accommodate the optional early retirement. Since 1973, the men paid 8 percent and the women 6 percent, the two percent difference was meant to provide for a widow's pension.

The differential contribution into the pension fund and their interrupted service adversely affected the pensions of the women teachers generally. With medical care costs increasing with age, it is no wonder that some women were and still are caught in the poverty trap in their old age (Figs, 1994).

4.5.4. Retirement/Discharge

4.5.4.1. Retirement Age

The Pensions Law, 1874, laid down that the compulsory retirement age for all Officers was 60 years (NGG No.1493, 6/10/1874, p.592). This rule was sustained for teachers until 1913 when Ordinance No.7 made provisions for certain teachers to be retained, voluntarily, until maximum age of 65 to satisfy staffing needs (NPG No.185,31/07/1913, p.520). At the same time, certain teachers could have been made to retire at age 55 owing to some peculiar circumstances such as abolition of post. Such teachers' pensions were paid out from public revenue (ibid).

According to the Public Service and Pension Act, 1923 (Act No. 27 of 1923), women teachers admitted to the UPF could have retired at the age of 55 (SUSA, 1923:310-23). This option was entrenched in the Govt Service Act, 1936 (Act No. 32 of 1936) (SUSA, 1936: 548/558). In Natal, under Ordinance No 12, 1946, women teachers obtained the right to retire, with effect from 1 April 1946, at any time after attaining the age of 55 years (NPG No.2064, 08/08/1946, pp. 837). But, in 1950, a Departmental Report (Enquiry Committee on Pension) concluded that men and women at ages 60 and 55 years respectively, were still physically and mentally fit to continue in their profession. In the 1950's, the Depts of Education (the NED included) were experiencing an acute shortage of teachers and the Govt found one method of solving the problem, that is by raising the pensionable age of the teachers (Minutes of NTS Executive Council (Durban), 12/11/1955, p. 2). The retirement age of members of the Public Service was raised under the Public Service Act, 1957 (Act No. 54 of 1957). This Act stipulated that members who joined the Public Service on or prior to 24 June 1955 could retire at age 60 years in the case of men and age 55 years in the case of women, but the men who joined after that date had to retire at age 65 years (SUSA, 1957:828). By this Act, all men who were in service on 31/12/1957 retained the right to retire on 31 December of the year in which they attained the age of sixty or during any of the subsequent five years.

In Natal, therefore, the retirement age for teachers was changed accordingly on 1 January 1958. When the pension funds were consolidated into the GSPF under Act No. 57 of 1973, this dispensation was sustained (GG, No. 3934, 18/06/1973, p.8; Schools Handbook, Ch B,

p. 49). Presently, teachers, regardless of gender, with at least ten years' continuous service can retire at fifty. But, all teachers must retire at sixty-five (Kotecha, 1994:80).

4.5.4.2. Retirement of Married Women Teachers

According to Act No.27 of 1923, a female officer was discharged upon marriage (SUSA, 1923:282). Later this rule was modified, that is, upon marriage a woman teacher either had to resign voluntarily before the date of her marriage or her service was terminated at the close of duty on the working day preceding the day of her marriage. Thereupon, she retired completely or was retained as temporary teacher as the needs of the different Depts of education dictated (UGE, No. 1519,17/12/1925, p. x; SUSA, 1957:830). (vide 4.4.2.)

In conclusion, since 1923 women could have retired voluntarily at the age of 55 years or any time thereafter or they could have retired voluntarily on the last working day before they got married. Presently, men and women must retire at 65 years. There could have been some 'good' reasons to allow women to retire early. First, consideration must have been given to the multiple roles women teachers perform, causing them to become burnt out sooner than men. Second, they probably had to make way for newly trained teachers. Third, the Govt could have wanted to employ the married on temporary basis to save money. Fourth, the 'hidden agenda' was to return the married women to the kitchen. Whatever the reasons were, one thing was certain about their early retirement, that is, their shorter working life and their interrupted service because of family-building would have reduced their pension. (vide 4.5.3.)

4.5.5. Payment of Pensions

In terms of Pensions Law of 1874, pensions were paid out from public revenue (NGG No.1493, 6/10/1874, p.592), but since the establishment of contributory security pension funds such as the Public Service Guarantee Fund (Law No.7, 1890) and Civil Service Superannuation Fund (Act No.21,1894), pensions were paid out of the Pension Funds (NGG No.2423,03/06/1890, p.607; NGG No.2698, 25/09/1894, p.1346).

i) Annuity

An annuity is the pension computed on an annual basis paid to a member of a pension fund upon attaining retirement age. Under the Natal Pension Law No 21 of 1894, annuitant's pension was computed by multiplying the average salary over the last three years by the number of years of service (Hitchins, 1900, Vol.2, Pensions, p.3). But under Act 7 of 1913, the computation of pensions was based on the average salary received by teachers from the commencement of service to retirement (Mentor, 1921, 3(21):72). The lean years counted against the teachers in this dispensation (ibid). However, with the passing of Pensions Ordinance No.7 of 1946, the calculation of annuities was based on the average of emoluments earned over the last seven years of service (Mentor, 1955, 37(2):8). Later this period was changed to the 'last three years' (NTS Guide for Teachers, Durban, 1980, p.95). Since 1973, the calculation of annuities for teachers who retired after ten years' service, was the same for male and females (GSPF Act, Act No. 57 of 1973).

Another improvement in payment of annuities was that if an educator who had retired on pension died within five years of his retirement, his widow or other full dependents received a cash gratuity equal to the difference between five years' annuity and the annuity paid to the pensioner (Mentor, 1955, 37(2):8). No provision in this regard was made for a deceased woman retiree.

The method of computation of annuities remains the same but the conditions of payment have changed as women teachers could now elect to leave their benefits to whomever they choose.

ii) Gratuity

Under the Natal Pension Law No. 21 of 1894, no pension was payable to a retiree who had less than 10 years' service, unless the member retired on account of ill-health or disability. Otherwise, the retiree was paid a lump sum benefit called a gratuity in addition to the full refund of the member's contribution plus compound interest (Hitchins, 1900, Vol.1., pp. 7-8). In terms of GSPF Act, 1973 (Act No.57 of 1973), a permanent teacher who left the service prior to ten years' pensionable service was paid a gratuity, which was calculated by multiplying 15.5 percent, in the case of a male, and 11.5 percent, in the case of a female, of

his or her final salary by the full period of pensionable service (Schools Handbook, Ch B, pp.51-52). But in case of a temporary teacher, male or female, who retired prior to ten years' pensionable service was paid a gratuity calculated at 15.5 percent of such member's annual pensionable salary on the last day of service multiplied by the period of pensionable service (ibid).

A gratuity was also paid to the widow or other dependents of a deceased retiree (ibid). If he died before retirement, his widow or dependents were paid his entire contributions to the pension fund together with contributions in respect of him by revenue, without interest. If death occurred within five years of his retirement, his widow or his dependents were paid either the annuity which the deceased would have drawn during the unexpired portion of his five years or a gratuity equal to the sum thereof. In a case where there were no dependents, a gratuity to the amount owing to the deceased was paid to the legal administrator of his estate (Natal Ordinance No. 10, 1932).

In the third case, a gratuity was a cash amount paid to a teacher on retirement in recognition of services rendered (Natal Ordinance No. 34, 1957). This gratuity was calculated in terms of Ordinance No. 12 of 1946 (Mentor, 1958, 40(3):22). A temporary teacher did not receive this gratuity (Mentor, 1990, 72(4):13).

In African education, as from 29 May 1941, teachers who retired were granted gratuity calculated on a basis not exceeding one pound per year of service, provided that they had 15 years or more continuous service in a Govt or Govt-aided African school in Natal (NPG No. 1769, 29/05/1941, p. 476).

iii) Leave Gratuity

A leave gratuity in respect of accumulated vacation leave standing to the credit of a teacher employed in a permanent capacity was paid when his/her services terminated as a result of one of these events: death; retirement; expiration of contract; discharge etc. In the case of death of the teacher, the gratuity was paid to the widow/widower or children or other dependents or relatives (GGE No. 661, 04/12/1963, p. 22). Later this dispensation was extended to a temporary teacher (excluding a locum tenens) (Schools Handbook, Ch C, p. 12).

The present dispensation in terms of the Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998 is similar, but there is a slight difference in the calculation of leave gratuity. Although all educators whose services terminate are paid for all the days standing to their credit, two discrepancies are evident in respect of two categories of retirees, namely, the educators who opt to retire prematurely but subsequently change their options, and the temporary educators with five years of continuous service. These two categories of educators receive leave credits to the maximum of 184 days. The amount of gratuity is calculated at the rate equal to the total of the educator's basic salary plus any pensionable allowance payable on the date on which the gratuity is payable (Regulations 59-62).

4.5.6. Marriage Benefits Payable To Women

Under Govt Service Pension Act, 1936 (Act 32 of 1936), a woman who was discharged on account of her marriage or who had retired voluntarily in contemplation of her marriage and married within three months thereafter received a gratuity payment (SUSA, 1936:544). The gratuity amounted to the refund of her whole contribution plus 12.5 percent of this amount in respect of each completed year of pensionable service but not exceeding twice the amount of her own contributions (ibid). But in the case of NTPF members, a woman who resigned voluntarily to get married was refunded only her contributions without interest (Natal Ordinances 7/1913 & 13/1927). No payment was due from the Fund to a woman teacher who married and continued in service in a permanent capacity, and if she retired at a later stage she received only a refund of her contribution to the Fund (Mentor, 1960, 42(2):10).

In summary, upon retirement three types of benefits accrued the women teachers - pension, service gratuity and leave gratuity. The women who reached pensionable age received all three calculated on the number of years of service and the average salary over the last three (previously seven) years. The teachers who retired to get married or retired with less than 10 years of service did not receive a pension but a gratuity, comprising their contribution to the pension fund plus interest. The shorter service and lower salaries affected the calculation of women's pension. The service gratuity was paid only to permanent teachers and as most married women were temporary teachers it would appear that it affected them the most. It also appears that most of the married women would have been disadvantaged in terms of the leave gratuity as much of their accumulated vacation

leave could have been utilised for child-bearing and child-rearing purposes.

4.5.7. The Widows' Pension Fund.

4.5.7.1. Establishment and Membership

The widows' pension fund (UWPF) was established by the Public Service and Pensions Act, 1923 (Act No. 27 of 1923) (SUSA, 1923:348). Under this Act, every male belonging to the UPF or the USPF was entitled to become a member provided that he earned an annual salary of £100 (ibid). This pension scheme was entrenched in the Govt Service Pension Act, 1936 (Act No. 32 of 1936) (SUSA, 1936:536). As from 1 January 1960, it became a condition of employment by the NED for every male teacher, whether single, married or widowed to contribute to the UWPF (Mentor, 1960, 42(1):5; The Teachers Journal, June 1961, p. 9). The name of this fund was changed to the GSWPF by the Govt Service Pension Act, 1965 (Act No 62 of 1965) (SUSA, 1965:938). Under the GSPF Act of 1973, all male members of the fund had to contribute to the GSWPF (GG, No. 3934, 18/06/1973, p. 16). The TEPF made provision for the payment of benefits to the widows or dependents of temporary teachers (Schools Handbook, Ch B, pp. 51-52).

4.5.7.2. Members' Contributions

Every male member of the UWPF had to contribute 1 percent of his salary to the Fund. Of course, members who were desirous of enhancing their widows' benefits had the option of contributing more to the Fund (SUSA, 1923:350). Thereafter, the male members of the Widows' Pension Funds always contributed between 1 percent and 2 percent more than women to their respective pension funds. With effect from 1 January 1960, every member had to contribute 2 percent of his pensionable emoluments to the UWPF and the employer matched this on a £ for £ basis (Mentor, 1960, 42(1):5; The Teachers Journal, June 1961, p.9). In 1973, under the GSPF Act, 1973, GSPF Regulations No. R 1062, 26/6/1973 and No R 781, 10/5/194 as amended, it was laid down that males contribute 8 percent and females 6 percent of their salaries to the pension fund (Schools Handbook, Ch B, pp. 51-52). This option was not available to women, however (Kotecha, 1994:80). But, since 1996 male and female teachers contribute 7 percent of their emoluments to the Fund.

4.5.7.3. Payment of Annuities to Widows

By Act No. 27 of 1923, the widow received in her lifetime a pension irrespective of other benefits she might have drawn from other sources (SUSA, 1923:350). From 1 January 1960, this annuity was reduced on a sliding scale if the widow was more than five years younger than her husband (Mentor, 1960, 42(1):6; The Teachers' Journal, June 1961, p.12). But, she continued to draw the pension for the rest of her life even if she remarried (ibid).

In terms of GSPF Act, 1973 (Act No. 57 of 1973), the widow of a member who at the time of his death had to his credit not less than 10 years of pensionable service qualified for half of the pension which the member would have received had he not died but retired at the age of 60 years. In determining such a pensionable service, the period from the date of death up to the date on which he would have turned 60 years is added to the period of his actual pensionable service (Schools Handbook, Ch B, pp.51-52). The widow of a pensioner who died, qualified for a pension equal to half of the pension which was payable to the pensioner at the time of his death (ibid). The TEPF made provision for the payment, to the widow or dependents of a temporary teacher, of a guaranteed pension for five years in the form of a gratuity (ibid).

In conclusion, since 1923 men had the option to contribute to a widows' pension fund but in 1973 it became compulsory for all men to contribute to the fund at the rate of two percent of their salaries. A widowers' pension option was not available to women. The widows received half of their deceased husbands' pension for life irrespective of remarriage. The pension payments were disadvantageous to the widows as their financial obligation could not have diminished at the death of their husbands. In fact in most cases they could have increased with the rising cost of living, education their dependent children and medical care. Halving the husbands' pensions compounded the problems for the widows. (vide 4.5.3)

4.6. Unemployment Insurance Fund

4.6.1. Establishment of the Fund

The UBF was established under the Unemployment Benefit Act, 1937 (Act No. 25 of 1937) to provide relief for unemployed persons (SUSA, 1937:154). This Act was replaced by the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1946 (Act No. 53 of 1946) (SUSA, 1946:880). This Act was repealed in 1966 and replaced by Act No. 30 of 1966 (SUSA, 1966:463).

4.6.2. Admittance to the Fund

Persons who belonged to a pension or provident fund administered by their employer or to which their employers contributed and from which they would draw annuities upon reaching retirement age were not admitted to the UIF (SUSA, 1936:156; 1946: 828-9). As from 2 July 1950, married women teachers were precluded from contributing to the Fund. (vide 3.4.2.) All single, divorced or widowed female teachers on the temporary staff were permitted to contribute to the Fund (GG No.4452,01/09/1950, p.751; Schools Handbook, Ch B, p.27).

4.6.3. Payment of Benefits

To draw benefits a person had to have contributed to the Fund for at least 13 weeks in the year prior to becoming unemployed. Contributors were entitled to a maximum of one week's benefit for every six weeks' contributions and a maximum of 26 weeks' benefit was payable in any one year (Mentor, 1990, 72(4):13).

Under the Unemployment Insurance Amendment Acts, 1954 and 1957 (Act No. 10 of 1954 and Act No. 9 of 1957), a female contributor was paid maternity benefit if she was unemployed during her pregnancy and confinement, provided that she had contributed to the Fund for at least eighteen weeks during the fifty-two weeks immediately preceding the date of confinement (SUSA, 1954:65; 1957:92). This dispensation was entrenched by Act No. 30 of 1966, with the provision that women on leave without pay were considered to be unemployed (SUSA, 1966:431).

Maternity benefits were payable to temporary women teachers. The benefit was 45 percent of the weekly salary paid during the last thirteen weeks of service. They received benefits for eighteen weeks before confinement and eight weeks after the child was born (Mentor, 1990, 72(4):13).

In short, married women were precluded from contributing to the UIF but divorced or widowed women were permitted. This was in spite of the fact that most of the married women were employed as temporary teachers most of the time. The rationale behind the non-admittance of married women to the UIF appears to be : 1) married women had their husbands to support them; 2) the married women had to be dependent on their husbands and therefore return to the 'kitchen'; 3) the married women's income was supplementary to their husbands' income.

4.7. Workman's Compensation Fund

4.7.1. Establishment of the Fund

This Fund was established under the Workman's Compensation Act, 1934 (Act No.59 of 1934) and replaced by Act No. 30 of 1941 (SUSA, 1934; 1941). The purpose of the establishment of the Fund was to provide financial support for workmen who sustained injury by accident arising out of , and in the course of their employment. The accident had to have resulted in their disablement for employment (ibid).

4.7.2. Eligibility for Benefits

For a person to be eligible for benefits, he or she had be a workman defined by the Act. A person is a workman if he or she had entered into a contract of employment (SUSA, 1943:682; 1941:374). A teacher who had earned up to £ 600 per annum was eligible (Mentor, 1936, 18(8):23). Teachers who had earned more and those who were employed in a temporary capacity were not considered as workmen for the purpose of this Act (ibid). The workmen were not required to make contributions to the Fund (SUSA, 1941:410). Funding was met by accruals from various sources including contributions by employers (ibid:442).

4.7.3. Payment of Benefits

If, under Act No. 30 of 1941, a teacher, who was entitled to compensation for having sustained an injury or contracted an illness, also received any pension or gratuity from the employer or pension fund, the compensation paid by the WCF was reduced (ibid:408). On the other hand, if a teacher was granted special sick leave for a period of incapacitation on full pay by the employer this pay was reduced by the amount of compensation paid under the Act (GGE No.661, 04/12/1963, p.21; GGE No.670, 13/12/1963, p.13; GGE No.1519, 26/08/1966, p.13).

4.7.4. Payment to Dependents

Where a teacher had died from an injury caused by an accident, the compensation was paid to the dependents - a widow or invalid widower or, in the absence of the spouse, to the child(ren) (SUSA, 1941:420). On the other hand, if an unmarried man had died and if he had been cohabiting with a woman at time of his death, his benefits were paid to her (ibid:378).

In short, teachers who earned high salaries and those who were temporary workers were not considered workmen in terms of this Act; and these people made no contribution to the fund. Benefits of the deceased were paid to the dependents - a widow or invalid widower or the children. By implication then, the temporary women teachers were ineligible for benefits and even eligible women who died in the line of duty could not have left their benefits to widowers who were healthy.

4.8. Salaries and Bonus

4.8.1. Salaries

The teaching profession, from the highest to the lowest ranks, has at no stage of civilisation, save in the exceptional circumstances, and in those instances as a rule only incidentally, been a well-remunerated calling.

(Report of the University Commission, UG. 42 of 1914, p.14)

In addition, traditionally the salaries of women in the teaching profession in the RSA were lower than those offered to men. Before 1943, for instance, the women received approximately 66 percent to 75 percent of the salaries of men (Venter, 1977:47). However, in earlier times in KZN, women and men assistant teachers with the same qualifications earned the same salaries; sex differential rates of salary only crept in at the level of head-teachers (Manohar, 1971:57). For example, in the 1920's the salaries of African teachers, with T2 certificates, were as follow : at primary schools, qualified men and women assistant teachers earned £24 and uncertificated teachers £24, but men head-teachers earned £72 and women £60 p.a.; at intermediate schools, qualified men and women assistant teachers earned £48 and men head-teachers earned £84 and women £72 p.a. Temporary teachers earned £4 p.m. (NTJ, 1920, 2(1):17). The new salary scales implemented on 1/7/1933 reflects differentiated scales for men and women teachers (NPG No.1323, 26/06/1933, p.595). This sex differentiated payment of salaries to teachers became entrenched, although there is evidence that the gap was narrowed progressively. For example, in the 1945 salary adjustment, women earned 71 percent of men's salaries (Manohar, 1971:102) and in the 1954 adjustment the women earned just under 90 percent of the men's salaries (Venter, 1977:49-50). Between 1985 and 1992, the disparity between the salaries of men and women was phased out (Kotecha, 1994:108-109).

In the early KZN, the salaries of African and Indian teachers in Govt-aided schools were paid partly by the Education Dept in the form of grants-in-aid, revised periodically, and partly from school fees (ibid; Manohar, 1971:14). In Indian education, for example, in 1887, each teacher received a grant-in-aid of £24 p.a. and the school fees ranged from one to three pence per pupil per month (Report of S.O.E, Natal, 1929, p.16). The grants-in-aid system of payment of teachers terminated in 1943 when teachers in Govt-aided schools became the employees of NED, thereby removing the disparity between Govt and Govt-aided schools (Manohar, 1971:98).

4.8.1.1. Increments

An increment is an 'instalment' in the payment of salaries, a graduation from the minimum to the maximum notch of the salary scale.

Generally, three categories of teachers were awarded increments: beginners; teachers who

were promoted; teachers who improved their qualifications. First, the beginner teacher had to be confirmed as a permanent teacher to be awarded an increment; this required a satisfactory report on the conduct and efficiency of the teacher (NPG No.912, 01/04/1926, p.320). Second, the teacher who was promoted to the next post level received one or more increments (Mentor, 1958, 40(3):20). Third, a teacher who improved his/her qualification, which was useful for teaching, was granted an increment (NPG No 2040,28/03/1946, p.220).

The awarding of increments was discriminatory. Firstly, uncertificated teachers were not eligible to receive increments (NPG No.143,31/10/1912, p.754). Secondly, temporary and married women teachers were not entitled to receive in increments (NPG, No.1959, 26/10/1944, p.833). However, a widow or a married woman who had entered into a notarial deed of separation or who had been judicially separated received increments in terms of such changes in marital status (ibid).Increments could, however, have been withheld in cases of misconduct or inefficiency on the part of the teachers (GGE No. 668,13/12/1963, p.19).

As a general rule, uncertificated and temporary teachers did not participate in salary increments. According to Natal Govt Notice No. 206,1912, uncertificated assistant teachers were not eligible to receive increments (NPG No.143,31/10/1912, p.754). Under Natal Provincial Notice No. 397 of 1944, White, Coloured and Indian teachers were given a new dispensation. Temporary and married women teachers were not entitled to participate in increments, but they were paid the minimum scale and the teachers in receipt above the minimum scale on 31/3/1945 retained same as personal. However, a widow or married woman who had entered into a notarial deed of separation or who had been judicially separated received increments in terms of such change in marital status (NPG, No.1959, 26/10/1944, p.833).

4.8.1.2. Categorisation of Teachers for Salary Purposes

Generally, teachers were remunerated according to their qualifications. Basically, teachers were in categories A to F. These categories were based on the number years of study taken after matriculation. For example, Category B consisted typically of teachers who had a two-year training college course, Category D, of teachers who had taken a basic university

degree (BA or BSc) plus the university diploma in education (four years of study in all) and Category E of those who had taken an honours degree plus diploma (five years of study in all) (Mentor, 1958, 40(2): 20). Any teacher could have advanced from one assistant's Gr to another - from A to F - if she/he had improved her/his qualification through study (ibid).

On the whole, women teachers earned between 66 percent and 80 percent of the men's salaries. Between 1985 and 1992 the disparities based on both race and sex were phased out in all the Depts of Education. The only disparities that remained were those based on the categories, dependent on qualifications or promotion post levels. The Govt. has made efforts to narrow the gap between the different grades of teachers above Gr D and between the post levels above Level II. These efforts, noble as they might seem in intent, had boomeranged. Because of the 'broadbanding' the teachers find no incentives to take further studies (vide survey and interviews).

4.8.2. Bonus

In early KZN education, apparently bonuses were paid to teachers as incentives. For example, in 1893, a sum of £50 was granted by the IISB, to be divided as bonuses among the teachers in those schools which had been conducted to the satisfaction of the Inspector of Education (Report of IISB, Natal, 1893, p. 12). In 1934, a similar scheme was adopted for African teachers by the NED. A bonus of £4 to the head-teacher, £2 to each certificated teacher and £1 to each uncertificated was awarded by the Administrator (NPG No. 1381, P/N No.223, 5/7/1934, p.531).

In the 1940's, a system of bonus payment was introduced for African teachers who undertook to study and teach Afrikaans (NTJ, 1942, 21(2):78). In the 1950's, a similar system was introduced for White, Coloured and African teachers who undertook to study and teach a second language. This was a non-pensionable bonus of £50 payable over a period of five years (NPG No.2695,24/05/1956, p.778). Of course, White teachers were paid £50 to teach the language as a subject and £100 to give instruction in both languages (ibid).

The above systems of bonus payments appear to have been created for specific purposes

and periods, depending on the discretionary budget of the Education Depts. However, in 1956 a new system of payment of bonus, known as the Vacation Savings Bonus, became available to teachers employed by the NED (Natal Provincial Secretary, Circular Minute No.18 of 1956).

Although this system became entrenched, discrepancies and meanness were evident. Initially, teachers received a bonus of 5 percent of their salaries (Mentor, 1958, 40(2):21). Locum tenens did not qualify for a bonus and temporary teachers had to have a continuous service of two years before they qualified (ibid). Women received half of the service bonus that the men received (Bendeman, 1994:190).

The bonus was non-pensionable and if a teacher who was eligible for service bonus took leave without pay during the period of 12 months preceding the date of payment of the bonus, the service bonus was reduced accordingly (Schools Handbook, Ch B, p.29). The service bonus was at all times payable to the teacher himself/herself. In the event of death of the teacher, a pro rata bonus was paid to the widow or dependants of deceased male or into the estate of a deceased female (Schools Handbook, Ch B, p.31).

In the 1980's a new system, known as Service Bonus was introduced. All teachers now receive a non-pensionable bonus of about 93 percent of their monthly salaries, payable in the month in which their birthdays fall (Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998, Regulation 88). The teachers were not paid unless they were in service on the date of their birthdays. It was also not paid out on a pro rata basis. This rule affected the temporary teachers who were invariably women and who were employed for one term at a time (Kotecha, 1994:109).

Briefly, there was always a disparity in the payment of bonuses. Women and unmarried men received half of what married men did. But since the 1980's all teachers received about 93 percent of their salaries as a Service Bonus payable in their birthday months.

4.9. Housing Loan Scheme

The Housing Loan Scheme was started in the late 1950's (Mentor, 1958,40(5):12). In order to have been considered for a housing subsidy a teacher ought to have been a

married male or a single person with dependents or a married female who was the only breadwinner of her family (Schools Handbook, Ch B, p.81). Besides widows with dependents, single women teachers with aged parents to support could have also applied (Mentor, 1976, 58(1):3). Marriage for a female employee in 1991 still meant that she lost her housing subsidy (Bendeman, 1994:190)

A married woman teacher on the temporary staff who had dependants could not apply for a housing loan or housing subsidy unless she was the recognised breadwinner of a family, she had five years of unbroken service, she was under fifty years of age and she contributed to the Provident Fund (Mentor, 1979, 61(5):206).

Presently the Home Owner Allowance Scheme is open to men and women teachers with the following provisions : that he/she contributes to a statutory instituted pension or provident fund; that he/she is employed in a full-time capacity; that if he/she is employed in a full-time but temporary capacity, he/she is younger than 65 years of age; that he/she is not married to a person who participates in the scheme for the Public Service (Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998, Regulation 73).

In short, married women did not qualify for a housing subsidy unless their husbands were totally financially dependent on them. Single women in receipt of housing subsidies lost them upon marriage. However, now they qualify for subsidies if their husbands do not participate in the scheme for Civil Service.

4.10. Taxation

Prior to the 1989, married women working in South Africa were, in general, not regarded as taxpayers (Te Groen-Hoberg, 1989) In terms of the Income Tax Act of the Union of South Africa introduced in 1914, the married women's income was deemed to be the income their husbands (ibid; Cele, 1994:59). Although the women themselves paid taxes out their earnings, their incomes and taxes were added to their husbands' for income tax purposes and taxed at the hands of their husbands. The rationale for the joint taxation was to curb tax evasion (Cele, 1994:59). The system of joint taxation had far reaching implications for working women. (vide 4.13.)

In spite of the tax reforms in respect of joint taxation which were instituted over the years, the system was sustained until 1991, when married women gained the status of fully-fledged separate taxpayers (ibid:62). Although married couples in South Africa had attained separate taxation, they had certainly not achieved equal taxation. For tax purposes women were placed in three categories : 1) married women (currently married to partner); 2) married persons (widows and divorcees); 3) unmarried persons (ibid:63). In most circumstances, married women paid more tax than married persons and unmarried persons. On the whole, it was more profitable to remain a single parent than to marry (ibid:65).

In conclusion, joint taxation of married persons was introduced apparently to prevent tax evasion. For tax purposes, the income of the husband was deemed to be the income of the husband and taxed at his hands. In the new tax regime each income earner is taxed at his or her hands. The new dispensation would appear to give the married women a new image, that is, as income earners and tax payers in their own right. Their status has improved, in that they do not have to be identified or defined in relation to their husbands in terms of the tax laws.

4.11. Leave Conditions

Leave conditions were first laid down in the Civil Service Act, 1894 (Law 21 of 1894). Three types of leave were provided for : vacation/long leave; special leave; sick leave. In accordance with Law No. 15 of 1862, public holidays were observed as holidays (NGG,10/7/1894, p. 770; 25/9/1894, p. 1346).

With time various categories of leave had developed. Leave of absence from duty fell into the following categories: sick leave; compassionate leave; vacation/long leave; accouchement leave; study leave; special leave; occasional leave; special sick leave.

Evidence is that, generally, men and women teachers enjoyed the same leave benefits. However, debatable injustices had crept into the dispensation of sick leave in respect of accouchement to women. No paid maternity leave was granted until April 1991(Kotecha, 1994:79). Leave for accouchement was categorised as sick leave prior to the mid-1950's (BEJ, 1958, 4(2):97-104), and this leave was considered sick leave without pay (NTJ, 1953, 35(5):364). However, if a woman had the necessary vacation leave credits she could

have elected to substitute the accumulated long leave in lieu of the sick leave granted for accouchement (Mentor, 1945, 27(4):4; NTJ, 1953, 32(4):364).

Basically, the regulations governing accouchement leave stated that an expectant female teacher had to take leave three months prior to the date of confinement and return not earlier than six weeks after the confinement. The married woman, on returning to teaching, then had two options : she could have resigned and left or applied for a period of leave without pay (NPG No.3815,25/07/1974, p.1653).

In African education, accouchement leave was granted only to married women teachers who submitted their marriage certificates (BEJ, 1970, 16(5):4-5). This implies that unmarried expectant women and women in polygamous and/or customary marriages were not granted accouchement leave. This would mean that these categories of women teachers would have had to resign for maternity purposes and return to teaching if posts were available. Furthermore, single women could not apply for maternity leave. In some Depts of Education in the homelands single women often lost their jobs if they became pregnant (Pandor, 1994:106).

In the new dispensation maternity leave is granted to married women 60 days prior to and 90 days after birth. A longer or shorter period may be granted by the Director-General. If a teacher is not married in terms of the Marriage Act but according to religious rites (is legally unmarried), the Director-General may grant maternity leave. Adoption leave is 90 days and it applies to all female teachers. Up to a maximum of 84 days with full pay per confinement is granted to a teacher with 12 months' uninterrupted service, limited to two confinements or adoptions per teacher. Maternity leave otherwise is unpaid. However, the teacher may take vacation leave if she has any to her credit (Kotecha, 1994:80).

In summary, only married women could have taken maternity leave. No paid maternity leave was granted before 1991. Prior to this, paid maternity leave could have been debited against their accumulated vacation leave, which affected adversely the leave gratuity when they retired.

In view of this debiting of vacation leave, the women received less benefits than men when they retired. All of these factors contributed to the poverty women could face in old age

(vide 4.5.3 & 4.5.4).

4.12. Medical Aid Schemes

In 1919, the NTSBF was established to assist White teachers with medical expenses (Mentor, 1920, 2(12):6). But soon, the NTSBF could not cope with the expenses. In 1953, the CSMBA was established but membership was not compulsory. Maternity expenses could not be claimed if incurred within 10 month of attaining membership of the medical scheme (Mentor, 1952, 34(9):17). On 1 January 1969, the PSMAA was established and membership was obligatory. According to regulations under Natal Provincial Notice No. 350,1974 as amended by Provincial Notice No.373,1977, Regulation 9, temporary women teachers were also eligible to contribute to PSMAA provided that they were contributing to the Provident Fund (Schools Handbook, Ch D. p.14).

But, in line with medical aid legislation a female member of the PSMAA was compelled to withdraw her membership if her husband was a member and she was his beneficiary. Women could not obtain benefits for their dependants like men could unless their husbands were unfit for employment (Kotecha, 1994:80-81). Married White women teachers were permitted to join medical aid societies but they were not allowed to receive payment for medical expenses in respect of pregnancy and child birth. Only males (or their wives) were to receive such expenses from medical aid associations (Van der Linde, 1994:113).

Presently Medical Aid is open to men and women teachers. In line with medical legislation, a female member of the PSMMA is compelled to withdraw her membership upon marriage if her husband is a member and qualifies as a dependent for receiving benefits. Unlike male members, women cannot obtain benefits for their dependents unless their husbands are unfit for employment (Kotecha, 1994:80-1). Married Whites could have joined medical aid societies but they were not allowed to receive payment for medical expenses in connection with pregnancy and child birth. Only males (or their wives) received payment for maternity expenses (Van der Linde, 1994:113). The following rules apply : the member of the Medical scheme must furnish the employer with written proof of membership as well as the monthly subscription; the employer would subsidise the member's subscription at a rate determined by the Minister; the member's portion of the

subscription must be paid by stop order and the Employer's portion would be paid direct to the medical scheme concerned (Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998, Reg. 64).

In the case of retirees medical aid is provided by the employers and the following rules apply:

1. an educator who has been a member of a medical scheme retires or has his/her services terminated qualifies for the employer's portion of the subscription;
2. in case of death of an educator, the surviving spouse's contributions are subsidised;
3. in the case of a deceased educator leaving more than one spouse as a result of customary marriage, the Employer's contribution is limited to one spouse, with or without dependents (Employment of Educators Act 76 of 1998, Regulation 67).

In short, married women teachers had to join their husbands' medical aid schemes. In the PSMAA married women could not obtain benefits for their dependents unless their husbands were medically unfit to work, whereas male members could have.

4.13. Promotion Opportunities

Prior to 1990's promotion opportunities for women teachers were limited. They were generally promoted to posts such as HODs of the JP phases in schools or the Principals and Deputy Principals of primary or junior schools (Mentor, 1979, 61(5):203). For example, in White education in 1979, the principalships of P1 and P2 schools were usually advertised for men or women but the P3 and P4 schools were reserved for men only (ibid). In 1989, the Natalse Onderwys Unie reported that only 0.4 percent of the White female teachers were principals of either primary or secondary school (cited by Van der Linde, 1994:111). There appeared to be two main reasons for women's non-promotion : the communities' reluctance to appoint women in positions of authority; the women being underqualified for promotion posts. It was also observed that women had to have longer service than men to get promotion posts (ibid).

In African education, staffing of lower primary schools was reserved for women. The HOD's and principal of these schools were generally women (Official Yearbook of RSA, 1977:685). Temporary teachers were not eligible for appointment in promotion posts

(Mentor, October 1980, p.182).But, whenever there was an acute shortage of senior women teachers this rule was rescinded. In Indian education, for example, in a number of cases in the 1960's, married women on temporary staff were appointed to senior positions which were vacant, especially at high schools(Report of DOE, Natal, 1964, p.64). Many Indian women presently hold HOD (Level 2) posts, mainly in the JP Depts in primary schools and some in the secondary schools. However, there are not as many principals and deputy principals as men (Ismail, 1994:126).

Presently, women teachers are promoted in a manner that attempts to redress the imbalances of the past.

In conclusion, traditionally women were under-represented in the higher ranks of the education hierarchy. Although the Govt's affirmative action is attempting to address the imbalances, there is still a huge disparity. Although teaching has been almost from its inception a feminine profession, few women have been given promotion posts (Van der Linde, 1994). In the White community the men are lured away by the private sector, so the women are in the majority. But it seems an anomaly that few women are in promotion posts in KZN. Van der Linde (1994) attributes it to the communities' and the women's negative attitudes. In the Black communities about 60 percent of the teachers are women and in spite of their greater numbers, a small proportion are found in the promotion posts. It appears that in all these communities, males are favoured for promotion posts. The empowerment of males might have been done for many reasons - males are better administrators and leaders, males are still the breadwinners etc.

4.14. Synthesis

This part of the study is not an in-depth exposition of all the issues concerning the conditions under which KZN teachers worked since the 1850's. Problems related to the Govt of KZN education from teachers' perspective are so complex that an in-depth study is beyond the scope of this investigation.

The present writer encountered several difficulties in the attempt to access information on women teachers. Firstly, the documents were written with White male teachers in mind. It was evident the policies were formulated for them and the White women and the

teachers of the other race groups (both males and females) were merely accommodated. Secondly, before racially differentiated education for Africans, Indians and Coloured became entrenched, little was written about the conditions of service for teachers in these race groups. Thirdly, in addition to racial divisions, schools were divided into several types - the Govt schools and Govt - aided schools being the focus. Until 1943, the conditions of service for the teachers in the different types of schools were different with Govt schools teachers being at an advantage. Fourthly, there was a paucity of literature related specifically to women teachers in KZN, even South Africa as a whole. Fifthly, the available information about the different race groups was so fragmented, with the various Depts of Education formulating their own policies, that the presentation of a coherent logical account was made very difficult. In view of these difficulties, it is submitted that conclusions reached in this part of the investigation are tentative.

What follows are the more contentious issues viewed from the perspective of the women teachers as professionals. The overall view is that the KZN women teachers were marginalized as professionals as a result of the second rate treatment meted out to them. The domino effect of this has resulted in the marginalization of the profession as a whole because the majority (more than 60 percent) of KZN teachers were and still are women.

Marriage was the biggest impediment to the enhancement of women's professional status. Women were required to vacate their teaching posts upon marriage. Thereupon, they were either employed as temporary teachers if their services were required or made to join a reserve pool and wait to be used when there was teacher shortage. The termination of married women's services was a matter of political expedience rather than educational considerations. The married women had to make way for newly qualified teachers; the position was worse if the newly qualified teachers were granted bursaries and/or loans by the State. The State in its attempt to recoup its outlay was forced to employ them. The temporary women's services were terminated regardless of their qualifications, experience and efficiency as teachers.

The women teachers' temporary status was fraught with problems. The greatest problem was job insecurity because they were subjected to dismissal with twenty-four hours' notice. Of course, the women teachers could have resigned giving twenty -four hours' notice but the advantages of the system were weighted entirely in favour of the Education

Dept. For example, in times of economic crises, it was far simpler and very much speedier to retrench the temporary rather than the permanent teacher.

Their professional status was diminished by other impediments such as the preclusion from membership of pension funds, the UIF and the WCF. The preclusion from the pension funds until 1979 meant that the temporary women teachers were unable to invest for their old age. Even if they took contingency measures such as investing in insurance policies and retirement annuities they lost out on the Employers' portion of the contribution to Funds. The problem was worsened for widows and divorced women who had children to educate because they had to utilise their resources, leaving them little to invest for old age. Even when temporary teachers were admitted to the TEPF, it was certain that their benefits were low because they contributed between 4 percent and 5.5 percent of their pensionable salaries to the Fund and, added to this, most women had fewer number of years of service because of interruptions. Moreover, temporary teachers did not receive a gratuity when they retired. All of this had impacted negatively on the financial position of temporary women teachers in their old age.

The preclusion of married women from contributing to the UIF and the WCF was the unkindest cut. They were as vulnerable as the single, divorced and widowed female teachers on the temporary staff who were permitted to contribute and yet because of their marital status, irrespective of the economic status of their families, they were barred. Moreover, there were more chances of married women to be unemployed on account of family-building and relocating with their husbands to areas where teaching posts were not available.

Temporary teachers were not eligible for benefits from the WCF for no other reason than they were temporary workers. The logic of this kind of reasoning is lost when it is remembered that workers in the lower income bracket were eligible. Surely, the permanent workers earning low wages were financially securer than temporary workers to afford medical care.

Temporary teachers were not eligible for promotion no matter what excellent qualities they might have possessed. Unless they were accepted on the permanent staff they had no prospect of advancement in their chosen career. Permanent women who were eligible for

promotion seldom rose above the level of HOD. Furthermore women were not allowed to apply for principalships of the big primary school and all the high schools. These posts were reserved for male applicants. The discrimination against women is demonstrated more clearly if it is remembered that primary schools were staffed overwhelmingly by women but men were appointed as principals. In some cases, men from high schools who had no primary school teaching experience were appointed. Women teaching in high schools had very few promotion opportunities.

A married woman on the temporary staff who had dependents was not allowed to apply for a housing loan or housing subsidy unless she was the recognised breadwinner of the family. A 'breadwinner' was defined as a parent who had children resident with her and was either single, widowed or divorced and it did not include a married woman who might have supported a husband who was a student or unemployed. There was a time when even a permanent married woman was deprived of this benefit even if her husband did not receive a State housing subsidy. The result of these restrictions was that some women teachers resorted to divorcing for 'convenience' so that they could qualify for it.

Although leave facilities were equitable for men and women teachers, married women who took accouchement leave suffered many disadvantages. The utilisation of the accumulated vacation leave for confinement disadvantaged the women in their old age. Firstly, upon retirement, their leave gratuity was reduced as they had fewer leave credits. Secondly, in cases where sick leave credits were exhausted, they had fewer vacation leave credits to convert to sick leave. Equity has not been attained even in the new dispensation because women could still suffer the same disadvantages after they have taken leave on two occasions for accouchement or adoption.

Differentiated salaries, bonuses and allowances were always paid to men and women teachers even if their education and training were the same. The abiding argument was that men were the 'breadwinners' but the reason for single men being paid more than single women was never explained. This differentiation was sustained in spite of the teacher associations repeatedly calling for teachers to be paid for services they rendered and not according to some political ideology.

With regard to pensions, women had some advantages but the disadvantages were

overwhelming. Women teachers who were employed between 1923 and 1955 were allowed to retire at age 55. Secondly, married women teachers who attained permanent status and widows were allowed to ante-date their pensionable service. Thirdly, the teachers' widows were allowed to draw pensions even if they remarried. In spite of these benefits, the disadvantages outweighed the advantages. Firstly, because of their lower salaries women's contributions to pension funds were lower; therefore their pensions were lower. Furthermore, the Employers' contributions to the Fund favoured the males by as much as 5 percent. Married women on temporary staff were earlier precluded from contributing to the pension fund but when they were admitted to the Provident Fund their broken service counted against them in the calculation of pensions. Widows received only half of their deceased husbands' pensions, notwithstanding the fact that they would have had the same or even more financial commitments after their husbands' deaths.

In the old tax regime, the women teachers were not regarded as taxpayers because their incomes were deemed to be their husbands' income. The system of joint taxation had some damaging influence on the women teachers, psychologically and materially. On the psychological level, the women's self-image was dented because they had no identity of their own. Legally, they were defined against the identity their husbands, and as such more as their dependents. Economically, the families were disadvantaged as the combined income of the spouses increased the tax burden. The non-recognition of the women as taxpayers in their own right meant that their earnings were supplementary income, not an important integral part of the family-income. The implication is that women teachers' occupational status was inferior to that of their husbands.

The impression might be created that single women teachers did not have impediments to their growth as professionals. It is far from the truth. Single women also suffered discrimination in schools although it was not to the same extent that meted out their married colleagues. They also suffered from situations such as differentiation in benefits, lack of advancement opportunities and unemployment. Moreover, single women were and still are more vulnerable to sexual harassment at school; married women appear to command more respect from male teachers and students because of their marital status.

All in all, the treatment of women teachers did little to improve the status of the teaching profession from the 1850's to the present day. In fact, the women's professional status was

diminished by the insufficient material benefits, the job insecurity and the general lack of advancement opportunities. Married women's temporary employment had done the most to damage the image of the profession because in no other profession does a professionally qualified and experienced incumbent suffer the indignity of temporary status for long periods, with a sinking feeling lurking in her psyche that she faces dismissal any day. This feeling of insecurity could never have fostered the kind of job satisfaction and output expected from the professional teacher.

The next chapter presents reviews of literature of a general nature on social, cultural and theoretical issues affecting women's lives. The reviews focus on issues from local as well as global perspectives and wherever possible cross-references are made.

CHAPTER 5

Review of Related Literature

5.1. Introduction

According to South African educationists such as Greyvenstein and van der Westhuisen (1991) and Dekker and Lemmer (1993) there is a paucity of research on the education of girls and women in South Africa. Dekker and Lemmer (1993) argue that there has been little research done because of the international sanctions imposed on South Africa, which included academic sanctions. Their assertion is that:

No large-scale systematic or official analysis of education of girls and women in South Africa has been undertaken. Research into gender and schooling has been directly affected by the country's political isolation of the past decade, during which time South Africa was omitted from the many statistical analyses on women's education in Africa carried out by UNESCO, the World Bank and by overseas academics.

(Dekker and Lemmer, 1993:20)

While sanctions and other factors had influenced research on South African schools, little was undertaken by South African academics themselves regarding women. Prior to the 1990's, although some studies on the education of White and Indian females in KZN were undertaken, practically nothing was done in respect of Africans and Coloureds. Furthermore, no research had been undertaken on the conditions of service and benefits of KZN teachers from a female perspective. Therefore, an attempt was made in chapters two, three and four of this study to fill these gaps to some extent. Since these chapters provide a socio-historical overview of KZN females' education and the conditions of work for women teachers, the expedient is to present a review of literature on some theoretical perspectives and thereafter link them to the main themes that emerge from the study.

International literature on gender and education is available in abundance. There is, however, a general dearth of literature related specifically to women teachers' lives and their work. The position gets worse as it filters down first to the South African situation and then to KZN. Therefore, the focus will continually shift from the international to the national or provincial positions in the review.

In respective of feminist theoretical concepts comprehensive reviews were done in a previous study by the present writer (vide Ponnusamy, 1995:49 - 133). It is considered expedient, therefore, not to revisit the theories but to relate the relevant concepts to KZN education policies and practices. For example, the actual practice of sexual division of labour will be described instead of theories concerning it. As a result, the issues that emerged from a survey of the field as related to investigating how women teachers mediate their experiences and practice in education are reviewed.

5.2. Patriarchy

Giddens (1993:173) says, '*Male dominance is usually referred to as patriarchy.*' But, according to Walker (1990) and Barrett (1980), patriarchy meant the domination of the husbands/fathers over women, the sons and junior male kin in the household. Giddens, Walker and Barrett are unanimous that it generally refers to male dominance over women the world-over.

Bozzoli (1983) conceptualises the idea of '*patchwork quilt of patriarchies*' existing in nineteenth century Southern Africa. This means that everywhere women were subordinate to men but there were important contrasts in the way gender operated in the different social systems in the region. Walker (1990) accepts Bozzoli's 'patchwork' analogy of patriarchy which brings out the variety in female experiences but for expedience she collapses the various forms of patriarchy in the region to two dominant systems - the indigenous system (broadly characteristic of the Bantu-speaking societies) and the settler sex-gender system (of the colonial states established by the European settlers).

In the indigenous system, for example the Zulu, the husband/father is ipso facto the head of the household and the wife or wives, all the other females and the junior male members of the household are his subordinates. Wyatt and Atkinson (1992) found that in African tradition wives are considered the first-born children of the men. Moreover, the women internalise this perception and participate in this attitude.

This attitude was prevalent in the Indian community as well. Rambiritch (1955) describes the position of Indian females as being one of complete subordination to men. The women were under the complete protection of the men. In their childhood they were protected by the father, in their married life by their husbands and in old age by their sons. So, they were never without protection of one kind or another. They never enjoyed any measure of independence or decision-making. In short, the Indian females were considered to be perpetual minors (Singh, 1995).

Similarly, King (1981) found Afrikaner women to be kept in subordinate positions by their men, whose self concepts are founded on the domination and protection of women. The women often accept this on their own or they are pressurised into accepting it or face rejection by the community. Walker (1990) argues the Dutch Reformed Church with its fundamentalist outlook and rigid adherence to patriarchal ideology, remains a strong conservative force, strenuously opposed to more liberal attitudes towards women's public roles in the Afrikaner community.

In the British community, the theological justification for a patriarchy favoured by the Afrikaners played a less prominent role than the naturalist ones. McClintock (1990) describes the role of women in biological terms. The sexual division of labour is seen as grounded in biologically conditioned differences in aptitude and temperament between men and women- though God remained useful as the supreme arbiter of the British patriarchal order (ibid).

Walker (1990) asserts that the patriarchy that was re-invented in the colonies applied not simply to relations between men and women but to the relations between the indigenous people and the coloniser. Walker emphasises the fact that Christianity offered a contradictory package to the African women : an escape from some of the constraints of the pre-Christian society and yet a firm incorporation into the domesticity and patriarchy of Christian family life. Patriarchy is one real and totally non-racial institution which is practised and firmly entrenched by all communities and historically designated race groups in South Africa (Charlewood, 1991). It is patriarchy that is practised in society and the home that is transferred to schools. In the school situation it is translated into the hierarchy where women feature more at the bottom of the pyramid and the men at the top in most circumstances (Shayi, 1996; Africa, 1997; Ferre & Hall, 1996).

5.2.1. The Family

The family has been regarded by many sociologists as the cornerstone of society. Its a basic unit of social organisation and its difficult to imagine how human society could function without the family. Despite variations, the basic structure of the family is maintained in all human societies. In this respect, the family may be regarded as a universal social institution (Haralambos, 1984:325). The feminist movements since 1960s have, however, questioned the foundations of the family by exposing the exploitative role assigned to women within it (Nelson, 1996). It is from this perspective the family is viewed in this study.

5.2.1.1. The Nuclear Family

The nuclear family is the smallest family unit and it consists of the husband, the wife and their immature offspring (Murdock, 1949). Parsons (1959) states that the family has two functions: to socialise children and to stabilise the adult personalities of the population in societies. Parsons argues that the 'isolated nuclear family' is the typical family form in modern industrial societies. It is structurally isolated because it is not part of a wider system of kinship relationships. Although there are obvious social relationships between the members of the nuclear family and their kin, these links would not be binding as in the traditional kinship relations.

Parsons (1959) asserts that the isolated nuclear family is the best suited to function in an industrial society. He argues that there is a functional relationship between the isolated nuclear family and the industrialised economic system. First, through the evolution of the structures in society, there is specialisation and differentiation of functions; the family is no more the unit of production because much of its functions are distributed to institutions such as the school, business, church, hospital and police force. Second, as the specialised division of labour in industrialised society requires specialised skills, people move to places where these skills are in demand. The small, streamlined nuclear family unit is the best suited for this geographical mobility. Third, achieved status in industrial societies is best attained by one main breadwinner - the husband-father. Fourth, in the nuclear family the conjugal bonds are strengthened and this is important for emotional support for adult personalities in the families in industrial societies.

Goode's (1963) views support Parsons' theory of the isolated nuclear family but avers that the nuclear family is also found in slight or non-industrialised societies through the imitation of Western societies. In addition, Goode suggests that, industrialisation and the extended family are compatible because of money and modern conveniences such as the transport system. In respect of status, he argues that it is possible for individuals to rise in their jobs through the role of bargaining, and among the upper class it is even possible to get top jobs through kinship ties.

5.2.1.2. The Extended Family

Units larger than the nuclear family are generally known as the extended families. These families are extensions of the basic nuclear unit. The extensions are either vertical (eg. addition of spouses' parents) or horizontal (eg. addition of spouses' siblings or an additional wife) (Murdock, 1949). Parsons (1959) claims that the extended family is not a firmly structured unit of the social system.

Arensberg and Kimball (1968) describe the 'classic' extended family system found in traditional peasant societies, for example, some Irish societies. The traditional Irish farming family is a patriarchal extended family; as a result considerable authority is vested in the male head and property is passed down the male line. Within the family, the social and economic roles are welded together and status is ascribed by family membership. On the farm the father-son relationship coincides with that of owner-employee. The father-owner makes all important decisions and directs the activities of the members of the extended family. Typically, the classic extended family consists of the male head, his wife and children, his ageing parents from whom he inherited the farm and any unmarried brothers and sisters. The family works as a 'production unit' producing the goods necessary for its survival (ibid).

The extended family had thrived in the pre-industrial period, but Parsons (1959) and Goode (1963) assert that industrialization tended to undermine the extended family and the larger kinship groupings. They argue that the nuclear family emerged more suitable for and/or compatible with industrialization. However, Goode avers that modified forms of the extended family and the kinship groupings also functioned in industrial settings. Anderson(1971) found that the extended family was quite prevalent in the 1850's. As a result of hardships a system of co-residences developed wherein kin such as aged parents lived with married children. This system benefited both parties as it provided support for the aged, who in turn freed the mothers to work in the factories by providing childcare. Co-residence also provided direct economic benefits as the additional members of the household reduced the financial burden by sharing the rent (vide 5.2.7.2.)

There is evidence that the extended family existed and still exists in the Indian and African communities in KZN. Among the Indians, there existed the extended or joint family

system. The cluster of families into one unit was known as the *kutum* (Pillay, 1972). Although the *kutum* was not necessarily an economic unit; emotional and religious ties were kept alive between its members, who acted as the main insurance in times of crises. But Kuper (1960), Jithoo (1970) and Vahed (1995) contend that there was a strong economic purpose for the joint family. Most of the Natal Indian families were held together to fight against poverty by combining resources and then sharing it under the leadership of the father of the men as patriarch and among the business class they all worked for the common good of the family business which made them all rich together. The responsibility of keeping together the scattered kinsmen rested with the women, who were honoured as wives and mothers (Kuper, 1960).

The traditional joint family was patrifocal with brothers, their wives and children living in a common household with the father of the men as patriarch. There was a clear hierarchy with several patterns of domination: father over sons, men over women, elders over the young and the members of the in-group over outsiders (Vahed, 1995).

5.2.1.3. The Symmetrical family

Young and Willmott (1975) devised the theory of the symmetrical family, which implies that the roles of the husband and the wife are symmetrical. According to this theory, conjugal role although not the same (the wives still have the main responsibility for raising the children through their husbands help) are similar in terms of the contribution made by each spouse to the running of the house. They share many of the chores, they share decision-making, they work together, but there is still men's work and women's work. Conjugal roles are not interchangeable but they are symmetrical in important respects.

Young and Willmott (1975) provide the following reasons for the transition from the nuclear to the symmetrical family. A number of factors reduced the need for kinship based mutual aid groups. They include an increase in the real wage of the male breadwinner, a decrease in unemployment and the male mortality rate, and increased employment opportunities for men.

In summary, patriarchy and sexual division of work feature in all three models of the family. Childcare and housework devolve on women and bread-winning and decision-

making on e men. Although the extended family is considered to be best model from the point of view of childcare, the symmetrical family appears to be the ideal from the perspective of workers (teachers).

5.2.2. Marriage

5.2.2.1. The Universality of Marriage

It was found that women, whether or not they are feminists, view marriage as an important part of life and teachers, through their own socialization, influence the girl charges on the ideology of marriage (Ponnusamy, 1995). This is confirmed by Giddens(1993: 40), who asserts: “ *The institution of marriage is a cultural universal, as are religious rites and property rights.*” Africans such as the Kgatla consider marriage as an essential step for every normal person (Schapera, 1942)

Beall (1982) reflects on the marriage of White women in Colonial Natal. She asserts that the ‘ascribed role of the Victorian woman was marriage and procreation and to this end she was reared and educated.’ The British settler men believed in the notion of a wife bred in the British tradition. However, between 1852 and 1911, in the White population, the men consistently outnumbered women in KZN and the ratio of males to females was fairly stable overtime (ibid: 209). In spite of this imbalance, Beall (1982:113) found that in 1891 that over 62 percent of the White were unmarried. One explanation Beall provides is that the long hours these women, especially the domestic servants and governesses, worked did not allow them time for courtship and marriage. There was need for domestic and agricultural labour in the rural economy, particularly when the early experiment with cash crop failed shows why daughters were allowed to marry late (Beall, 1982:16). On the other hand, most settlers had to be skilled and intelligent men to direct labour rather than labour themselves. Therefore, the settlers became property owners on their arrival and there was a tendency in KZN for the settlers to maintain barriers of class or status that existed in Britain (Beall, 1982:105-108). The class factor becomes more apparent if one considers that the men deferred marriage and in the interim they satisfied their sexual desires by exploiting Indian and African women and girls (Beall, 1982). Apparently several of the Governors of the Crown Colonies had requested the British Govt to encourage migration of eligible spinsters to the colonies to marry the single White men (Behr, 1952).

Sharma and Sharma (1995), Beall (1982) and Kuper (1960) discuss Indian marriages largely from a Hindu perspective. There is a traditional belief among Hindus that the highest ideal in a Hindu woman's life is motherhood (Swami Nirvedananda, 1995). Motherhood is seen as the 'greatest service to the family, the nation and the race and it is the natural and normal function of the women' (Jain, 1995). Sri Prakasa (1995: 231) says that Manu is reported to have said : "*The father protects the woman in her childhood; the husband, in her youth; the son, in her old age. A woman should not have freedom.*" Prakasa explains that Manu did not mean that women should be kept helplessly tied up in bondage but that they should be protected from entering economic competition - that they should be spared the struggle of finding their own means of livelihood. Implicit in this ideology is notion expounded by Swami Sivandanda that marriage is obligatory on women and that they should not enter the job market in competition with men (Pillay; 1972). (vide 5.2.7.2.)

Marriage customs of the KZN Indians were inherited from India (Beall in Walker, 1990: 149). Marriage among South African Indians were arranged by the parents and it was recognised especially among the merchants that equality of wealth was an important qualification for compatibility (Kuper, 1960:136). Therefore, it would seem, Hindu marriages were largely endogamous, that is couples married according to their *varna* or *jati* (caste) (Beall, 1982: 140). Among the Muslims, marriages were arranged with close kin and among Gujerati Hindus, within the caste (Kuper, 1960:137).

Rajab (1997:10) says that traditional Indian view of marriage is different from the other South Africans. The duty of an Indian married woman is prescribed by religious sanctions because for the traditional Indian woman there are two Gods in her life - the one that she has not seen and the one that she has married. Kuper (1960:141) adds that most Indian women are considered extensions of their husbands, but intellectual women are rated by their own achievements. These able women are few and their status is achieved sometimes in the face of strong family and societal apposition until recently. Rajab (1997:10) adds that for most working Indian women the dual career life style is often more demanding than their western or African counterparts as family obligations extent beyond their nuclear family to include an enmeshment of obligations towards the extended family and a cultural orbit of never-ending relatives. Women in traditional marital relationships

where role definitions are rigid, display poorer physical health, lower self-esteem, less autonomy and poor marital adjustment than women in more equal relationships (ibid).

In traditional African marriages, the parents chose the brides and bridegrooms and arranged the marriages. But in modern marriages there is a period of courtship and parents only step in to conclude the marriage (Schapera, 1942:38).

Before a traditional African marriage could take place there was an arrangement on the transfer of bridewealth or *lobola* - ideally in the form of cattle - from the bridegroom's father's homestead to the bride's father's. The importance of *lobola* caught the attention of the White settlers, notably the missionaries and colonial authorities. It was the missionaries who, according to Walker (1990: 9), intervened to curb or halt the practice of bridewealth, labelling it as sale of women. The missionaries promoted the ideology of a Christian marriage: obedience to the authority of the husband, discretion in matters of the sexual relations, monogamous marriages etc. (ibid: 14). The Colonial State, therefore, passed Law I of 1869, which changed the African customary marriages (Meintjes, 1990). Apart from granting the women freedom to choose their own partners, this law limited the number of *lobola* cattle and prohibited the recovery of *lobola* from wife's family upon dissolution of marriage. Christian marriages thus became superimposed on the customary marriage (ibid). Meintjes (1990) makes a distinction between marriage in precolonial and colonial societies but points out that the property relation permeated both.

A notable proportion of Black women especially the Africans, are now challenging the institution of marriage from the point of view of patriarchy and economic dependence on men (Kuzwayo cited in Van der Vliet, 1984). These women desirous of having both children and independence, have a tendency towards sexual liaison for procreating but they avoid marriage (Van der Vliet, 1984). This trend has led to the increase in number of single-parent household in recent times.

5.2.2.2. Divorce and Serial Monogamous Marriage

According to Haralambos (1984:360) marital breakdown can be divided into three main categories: 1) divorce- the legal termination of marriage; 2) separation- the physical separation of spouses; 3) the 'empty shell marriage' - where spouses remain legally

married, live together but the marriage exists only in name.

For many centuries marriage was regarded as virtually indissoluble in the West (Giddens, 1993:403). Divorces were granted only in exceptional cases such as the non-consummation of marriage. Some industrial countries such as Ireland still do not recognise divorce (ibid). However, most countries now make divorce easily available. In Britain there was a dramatic increase in the divorce rate since the passing of the Divorce Reform Act in 1971 (Haralambos, 1984:361). In 1989, Britain ranked second to Denmark but Italy was the lowest in rate of divorce (vide Figure 12.1 in Giddens, 1993: 404).

In South Africa, the marriage laws were reformed since the 1990's. Not only is divorce now easily obtainable, the women who divorce are also entitled to 50 percent of the joint estate upon dissolution of the marriage.

In a country like Britain where marriages are monogamous by law, because of the high rate of divorce a pattern of marriage called serial monogamy is observable (Giddens, 1993:399). This means that individuals are permitted to have a number of spouses in sequence, although they may not have more than one husband or wife at any one time. But, Dlamini (1994) avers that serial monogamy is tantamount to polygyny. (vide 5.2.3.2.)

Remarriage can involve various circumstances. With the rise in divorce rate, the level of remarriage also began to climb as an increasing number of remarriage involved divorced people (Giddens, 1993:411). About 28 percent of marriages involve at least one previously married person. Divorced men are more likely to remarry than divorced women (ibid). In the event of children from previous marriages, the spouses could either have joint custody or sole custody, which is mostly awarded to women.

5.2.2.3. Widow Remarriage

From a western (or Christian) perspective there appears not to be any impediments to widows remarrying. According to Giddens (1993:411) in 1900, most of the remarriages involved at least one widowed person. Today, the proportion of widow or widower involvement increases among the 35 year age group and in fact surpasses the divorced group beyond 55 years age group (ibid).

Among the traditional African tribes in Southern Africa widow remarriage was permitted (Burman, 1990:67) In the Sesotho tribe, for example, a widow was free to marry. In such a case, whether the *lobola* to her father or the heir of her deceased husband's estate would probably depend in practice whether she had borne children to the deceased husband (ibid). However, the death of her husband did not dissolve her marriage. Although she could not be forced to do so, she was expected to remain with the husband's family to bring up the children, assist with the work and have further children by male relations of her husband, chosen by the family. All these children born of this arrangement were regarded as the deceased husband's children (ibid).

Widow remarriage was prohibited by Indians in earlier times. Leitner (1995:4-5) provides insights into this prohibition. Leitner says that like the 'Law of Celibacy' among Roman Catholic priests, that of widowhood was based on a conception of self-sacrifice to duty or affection of which only the highest human nature was capable. In the absence of *sutee* (a ritual of widow burning), the widows had to mourn their departed spouses wearing white saris (representing shrouds). It was believed that when widows died in such a state they would be received by their husbands in the white shrouds in the next world still mourning for them (ibid).

There was also a material aspect to the prohibition of remarriage of widows. There was the fear that quarrels about inheritance would ensue if widows remarried, although by and large women were prohibited from owning property. There was also the fear of social evils ensuing from widow remarriage, for example, overpopulation would be exacerbated and unmarried girls' chances of finding husbands would be reduced (ibid).

Beall (1990:150) and Jithoo (1975), on the other hand, condemn the customs of *sutee* and the prohibition of widow remarriage as the most horrifying form of oppression against the Indian women. The British outlawed the practice of *sutee* in India in 1829 and legalised widow remarriage in 1856 (ibid). However the prohibition of widow remarriage persisted. The Hindu widows' life was very hard, living as they did in the deceased husbands' households, under the control of the mothers-in-law. The prohibition of widow remarriage was all the more oppressive given the Hindu custom of child-marriage, which meant that girls could be widowed as very young children and condemned to a life of servitude in

their dead husbands' households (ibid). As a result, when the Sarda Act was passed in 1929, there were about 140 000 widows ten years and younger in India (Thomas, 1964:340). Despite the laws they enacted, the British did little to improve the lives of the widows. In fact their condition deteriorated. Poverty drove many of them to begging and prostitution (Beall, 1990:150). But the Indian Govt is still striving to implement the new marriage law which sets the marriageable age for men at 21 years and women at 18. Offender are penalised by being barred from Govt jobs (Bedi, 1997).

In South Korea, a woman's fidelity to her husband had to be continued even after her husband's death (Kyungi-Ai, 1995:180). This Confucian ideology was implemented in traditional Korean society by coercion through legislation, inducements through means of compensation from the state, and socialization by education institution and the family. The remarriage of widowed women was banned in 1477 (ibid). The children of widows who remarried suffered several disadvantages such as being barred from Govt jobs or examinations. The widows' remarriage or adultery was also considered the most shameful behaviour by all their relatives. On the other hand, the widows who remained chaste even when they were widowed young or committed suicide to preserve their chastity were held in high esteem by the state. The relatives of such women received various rewards from the state (ibid: 181).

5.2.2.4. Polygamy and Concubinage

According to Giddens (1993:759-60) polygamy is a form of marriage in which a person may have two or more spouses simultaneously, whereas polygyny refers to a marriage in which a man may have more than one wife at the time and polyandry where a woman may have more than one husband at the same time. On the S. A. scene where polyandry is rare, the terms polygyny and polygamy appears to have become synonymous.

Polygyny is common among African tribes in S. A. (Walker, 1990). Having many wives is a status symbol (Elliott, 1978:71). Among the Zulu for example, wives are synonymous with wealth as a man has to pay eleven head of cattle for each wife as *lobola* and his ability to acquire many wives proves his success in life (ibid). The practices of polygyny and *lobola* were construed as unChristian by the Missionaries and therefore obstacles to the evangelisation of the Africans. In their efforts to break down these barriers, the

Missionaries created tensions between the traditional African men and themselves (Meintjes, 1990). In the aversion to their conversion to Christianity, some parents refused to send their children to Mission schools (ibid).

Polygamy has attracted much debate over the decades. Much of the criticism is levelled against the practice of polygyny and little is said in its favour. However, Dlamini (1994) advances some argument in favour of polygamy (sic) from the point of the Bill of Rights. Apart from advocating for a Constitutional inquiry into the question of customary marriage (which are essentially polygamous in S. A.) he argues from two fronts. First, as customary marriage is part of their culture, African women who marry by customary law do not regard this as a derogation of their dignity. Even if it were seen as derogation, there is no reason why women should not be free to waive their right to dignity if it is in their interest. To be married, even in a polygamous establishment, may be more attractive to some women. Second, although the courts have consistently held that polygamy is contrary to public policy and therefore invalid, it is strange that in the context of civil marriage serial polygamy is allowed. He argues that divorce and remarriage amount to serial polygyny. There is no explanation as to why serial marriages are more moral than organised polygyny. (vide 5.2.3.2.) Hexter (1996) argues that polygamous marriages are beneficial to women in two respects : customary wives shared companionship and work; they receive some support from their husbands while the marriages last.

Dlamini (1994) dismisses polyandry as an unimportant issue in SA. as it is not part of African culture. He asserts: "*No woman has campaigned for polyandry. No one can argue that such a union would be to the benefit of the woman.*" This might be true in the African context but Dlamini's assertion can be challenged from the perspective of some Indian women in South India and Tibet. The Todas (or the Nairs) of Southern India practise polyandry. In this society, the wife is very powerful, because not only is she in control of the incomes of all her husbands, she makes all the decisions in the household, including sexual relationships with her husbands (Leitner, 1995). In short, power is wielded by matriarchs and property is bequeathed on the female line.

Of course, polyandry seems to exist in societies living in extreme poverty and where female infanticide is practised (Giddens, 1993). Leitner (1995) discusses polyandrous relationships in Tibet, where polyandry in respectable families is restricted to husband's

brothers. The practice of polyandry is a strategy to check on overpopulation and overcome food shortages in a poor country like India (ibid).

Polyandry was also practised by the Indian immigrant women in Colonial Natal (Beall, 1982). Because of dire poverty, the indentured women devised strategies for survival such as prostitution and polyandry. Moreover, Indian men always outnumbered the women and this was probably another reason for polyandrous relationships to develop. Of course, some married African women also succumbed to extramarital liaisons as a survival strategy when their husbands deserted them or cut off support for them in the migrant labour system (Lapchick & Urdang, 1982; Walker, 1990).

Schapera (1942:38) asserts that the elimination of polygyny led to the spread of concubinage among Africans. But Elliott's study (1978) contradicts this assertion to some extent. Elliott (1978: 174) found that in a polygamous marriage, a Zulu man, in addition to his wives, is also permitted to have an unmarried 'sweetheart.'

However, there is strong evidence to suggest concubinage became a way of life among the Africans especially during the industrial revolution in SA. The migrant labour system required the men to migrate to the urban areas leaving behind their wives and children on the farms.

The urbanised African men colluded with the migrant women workers in the towns and built up concubinary relationships (Lapchick and Urdang, 1982). Unlike polyandrous marriages, concubinage appears to disadvantage the married wives as support for them is curtailed (vide 8.2.5.5).

5.2.2.5. Dowry & Lobola

Dowry is the property a bride brings from her own family to that of her husband (Lewenhak, 1992: 23). The dowry system was adopted all over Europe and many parts of the world. It is still in existence in some parts of Europe - in France, for example. Originally the dowry was meant to provide economic security for the bride in her husband's household. The law gave her husband the responsibility and rights of supervision of her property but soon transmuted into the rights of use. This system laid

women open to other abuses (ibid).

The dowry was made illegal in India in 1961 but it is still widespread especially among Hindu families in the north (ibid). If in-laws consider dowry payments insufficient, a bride could be placed in extreme danger. The United Nations Children's Fund reported that, every year, more than 5 000 women are killed in India by the in-laws if they are unhappy with the size of the dowry (Popham, 1997). Between 1982 and 1984, over a thousand 'dowry death' of young brides caused by their in-laws were notified to the govt. With the bride dead, a new bride and another dowry can be sought (Lewenhak, 1992). Lewenhak argues that these deaths are an example of the extreme to which the lack of value of a wife and mother can lead and that the bride's fate follows from the lack of value placed on her own mother. Some of the poor people who are afraid of the dowry either kill the girl child at birth or abort the foetus if they discover it is female (Popham, 1997).

On the South African scene, the dowry system was practised by the African tribes (Elliott, 1978: 71) but this practice was termed variously as *lobola*, *lobola*, *bohali*, brideprice, bridewealth etc. (Guy, 1990: 36). A traditional African marriage was only concluded with passing of cattle from the husband's father's homestead to the wife's father. In the case of a widow, the *lobola* is transferred to her eldest son (Elliott, 1978:168).

Lobola has connotations of wealth and status. Firstly, in polygamous marriages, a number of wives enhance the status of the husband (Elliott, 1978:174). Moreover, the ability to pay *lobola* for many wives reflects the man's prosperity (ibid: 71). Secondly, the brideprice is usually eleven head of cattle but this number varies depending on the status of the woman. For example, among the Zulu, if the bride-to-be is no longer a virgin, the number is reduced by one, if she has children her father loses one for each child she has borne and the *lobola* for a widow is less than for a girl but it could be negotiated (ibid: 168). Thirdly, Zulu men marry relatively young and they seldom have the means to pay *lobola* and so the fathers and older brother have to assist them to find the wherewithal (ibid: 169). Fourthly, sometimes a marriage is permitted by the bride's father if the *lobola* is not paid because of hardship with the proviso that the first daughter born of the marriage is pledged to him and his wife in lieu of the cattle. When this child attains marriageable age, she is handed over to her maternal grandparents who recoup the 'lost' *lobola* upon her marriage (ibid: 169).

Fifthly, by the transaction of *lobola* the woman is installed as wife and acknowledged as such. She knows her position and her rights. The greater the number of cattle given by the husband, the prouder the woman is, feeling elated by this distinction (Posset, 1878). Usually princesses and daughters of great men such as chiefs are obtained only by a large donation of cattle (ibid, Elliott, 1978). Therefore, an African seldom forsakes his wife (Posset, 1878). Moreover, *lobola* legitimates African marriages and the off-spring, because children born out of *lobola* union are considered to be illegitimate (Marwede, 1945: 6-7).

But the practices of *lobola* was challenged by the Missionaries. *Lobola* was perceived to be the greatest barrier to conversion of Africans to Christianity and to children attending school and religious service (Posset 1878, Meintjes, 1990). The missionaries complained that 'heathen' parents stopped their wives and children for fear of being corrupted and thus jeopardising *lobola* cattle as the girls would lose their supposed market value by embracing Christianity (ibid).

It was admitted that in some instances African girls had suffered cruel treatment from their parents and relatives , and have been compelled to marry a man distasteful to them, and this for the purpose of securing larger numbers of cattle offered by a wealthy suitor (Marks, 1987).

The missionaries pressured the Govt to introduce legislation in 1865 (Law 28 of 1865) permitting exemption for women and girls from customary law. In spite of the onslaught by missionaries and the Colonial Govt, *lobola* like polygamy has survived.

5.2.3. The Division of Labour

5.2.3.1. The Genetic and Biological Perspective

Clearly women and men are biologically different. Although there is disagreement about the exact nature and consequences of this difference, some anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists argue that it is sufficient to explain the basic sexual division of labour in all societies.

5.2.3.2. The Sexual Division of Labour

Tiger and Fox (1972) argue that social scientists who assume that human beings behave simply in terms of culture are ignoring the human 'biogrammar'. The biogrammar is a genetically based programme which predisposes people to behave in certain ways. These predispositions are not the same as instincts since they can be considerably modified by culture. Tiger and Fox (1972) argue that compared to women, men are more aggressive and dominant. These characteristics result from the differences between male and female hormones. Men hunt and fight in wars, which are aggressive activities and women reproduce and care for children. Tiger and Fox argue that male and female biogrammars are adapted to a sexual division of labour in a hunting society. Since genetic change is slow compared to cultural change, these biogrammars of a hunting existence continue in modern industrial society.

Murdock (1949) operates from quite different assumptions. He explains gender roles in terms of biological differences. He argues that the greater physical strength of men and the fact women bear children lead to gender roles out of sheer practicality. Men can better undertake strenuous tasks such as mining, lumbering, land clearance and housebuilding, while women undertake lighter tasks such as gathering of vegetable products, fetching water, preparation of food, and the manufacture of clothing and utensils. Men range far from home to hunt, fish and trade but women because of their biological functions of childbearing and nursing are home-bound. Murdock (1949) argues that given the biological differences between women and men, a sexual division of labour is the most efficient way of organising society. He concludes that the advantages inherent in a division labour by sex presumably account for its universality.

Parsons (1959) also advances arguments for the roles of women and men in industrial society in biological terms. Parsons sees the isolated nuclear family in modern industrial society specializing in two basic functions : the socialisation of the young and the stabilisation of the adult personalities. (vide 5.2.2.1.) The women bear and rear children and the men work in the industry. The women's is an 'expressive' role, meaning that they provide warmth, security and emotional support to the children in the absence of the husbands/fathers. The men's is an 'instrumental' role since they are the breadwinners.

Their roles in an achievement oriented society are full of anxiety and stress. But the women extend their 'expressive' roles to relieve the men of these tensions with love, consideration and understanding. The women's expressive role functions in the case of their children is the socialisation of the young and in the husbands' case, the stabilisation of adult personalities. Parsons argues that for the family to function efficiently as a social system, there must be distinct sexual division of labour. In this sense, the instrumental and expressive roles complement each other.

Bowlby (1946) examines the role of women, more particularly, as mothers, from a psychological perspective. Like Parsons, he argues that the mothers' place is in the home caring for their children. Bowlby studied juvenile delinquents and found that the most psychologically disturbed had experienced separation from their mothers at an early age. Many had been raised in orphanages and the deprivation of maternal attention had resulted in their destructive and anti-social behaviour. Bowlby concluded that it is essential for the mental health of children that they experience warm, intimate and continuous relationships with their mothers. What this implies is that there is a genetically based psychological need for close and intimate mother-child relationships. Thus the females are firmly attached to the mother role.

Although all the arguments allow some variations in the way gender roles are played, biological differences between the sexes do provide the foundation on which sexual division of labour is based.

5.2.3.3. The Socio-cultural Perspective

Many sociologists work from the assumption that human behaviour is largely directed and determined by culture, which is the learned code of behaviour shared by members of a society. This means that norms, values and roles are culturally determined and socially transmitted.

From this perspective, gender roles are the product of culture rather than biology, that is individuals learn their respective male and female roles. Sexual division of labour is therefore supported and justified by a belief and value system which states that gender roles are normal, natural, right and proper (Haralambos, 1984). It is from this perspective

that cultural division of labour is viewed.

5.2.3.4. The Cultural Division of Labour

Oakley (1974) espouses the theory that gender roles are determined by culture. She asserts that the division of labour by sex is not universal because it varies from culture to culture. She looks beyond Western stereotypes and male perspectives to explain that sexual division of labour is not universal nor are certain tasks always performed by men, others by women. She cites examples of women's activities and childcare in other cultures, from the primitive to the modern, which effectively rebut the arguments of Tiger and Fox (1972), Murdock (1949), Parsons (1959) and Bowlby (1946).

The men and women Mbuti Pygmies in the Congo rain forests hunt together and share the responsibility for the care of children; the women Australian Aborigines of Tasmania hunted seals and caught other animals and fish; in countries such as China, Russia, Cuba and Israel women form an important part of the armed forces; in India about 12 percent of the labourers on building sites are women; and in Asian and Latin American countries about 25 percent of the labourers in mines are women. Turning to the socialisation and care of children, Oakley (1974) cites the Israeli kibbutz and the Alorese society in Indonesia where persons other than the natural mothers undertake these social activities, without any harmful effect on the children. She asserts that Parsons's theory of the females expressive roles in the family only serves to entrench the domestic oppression of women. The family unit merely exists for the convenience of men.

Oakley (1974) concludes that gender roles are culturally rather than biologically determined. Evidence from different societies shows that there are no tasks, apart from childbearing, which are not performed exclusively by women. Biological characteristics do not bar women from particular occupations. The mother role is a cultural construction as evidence from several societies indicates that children do not require a close, intimate and continuous relationship with a female mother figure.

5.2.3.5. Collective Childrearing

To support Oakley's (1974) claim the division and childcare are not gender specific, Bettelheim's (1969) psychological study of collective childrearing in a kibbutz indicates that close, continuous mother-child relationship is not essential for effective socialisation of children. Bettelheim found that the kibbutz children develop into good, well-balanced people but less individualistic than their western counterparts. He concludes that the kibbutz experience demonstrates clearly that the children raised by educators in group homes can and do fare much better than those raised by their mothers in poverty-stricken homes, and better than quite a few raised at home by their middle-class parents.

The overall argument is that the designation of domestic work and childcare as women's work is a Western stereotype and it can be challenged with the experiences of the Israeli kibbutzim, the Alorese and the Mbuti Pygmies. The case of the kibbutzim proves that the birth mother and the social mother do not have the same person, and childcare do not necessarily have to devolve on women. The cases of the Mbuti Pygmies and Alorese indicate that 'men's' work can be performed by women.

5.2.3.6. Male Dominance and the Sexual Division of Labour

Friedl (1975) provides an explanation for the sexual division of labour and male dominance, which Oakley (1974) and Bettelheim(1969) fail to do. Like Oakley, Friedl provides a cultural explanation, noting the great variation in gender roles between societies. For example , she observes that certain activities are assigned to men in some societies and the same activities to women in others. However, in these societies the 'men's' tasks generally carry a higher prestige than the 'women's' tasks. Friedl sees this as a reflection of male dominance which she maintains exists to some extent in all societies. She explains men's prestige and power in terms of their control of goods of value, their defence of property, their engagement in economic and political negotiations and alliances **etc.**

Although Friedl shows that male dominance and gender roles are culturally determined, she fails to completely dismiss biological arguments. The fact that women bear children forms an important part of her explanation for the sexual division of labour and for her

explanation of male dominance. Her arguments, however, reveal the importance of culture and avoid the simplistic claims of biological arguments.

5.2.3.7. The Devaluation of Women

Many feminists claim that sexual division of work is an ideology invented to place a higher value on work allocated to men than that allocated to women. Ortner (1974) attempts to provide a general explanation for the universal devaluation of women. She explains the devaluation of women and the superiority of men from the point of view of nature and culture. Ortner argues that in every society a higher value is placed on culture than on nature. The universal evaluation of culture as superior to nature is the basic reason for the devaluation of women. She claims that it is not biology as such that ascribes women to low status in society but the way in which every culture defines and evaluates female biology. Women are seen to be closer to nature because of their roles as mothers. On the other hand, men are closer to culture because they use culture - the invention of weapons, technologies, religion, rituals etc - to control and regulate nature. Although Ortner fails to show conclusively that culture is evaluated more highly than nature in all societies, she nevertheless provides an explanation for the universal phenomenon - the second class status of women.

If Ortner's view is correct, the subordination of women owes nothing to biology as such, but rather to the cultural evaluation of their biological constitution.

5.2.4. The Proletarianisation of Women

The position of women in industrial society varied from country to country and from period to period. The changing status of women in Britain and KZN is reviewed.

5.2.4.1. Women in Britain

In pre-industrial Britain, the family was the basic unit of production. Agriculture and textile were the main industries and women were indispensable to both. Most of the housework and child-care were performed by unmarried children (Haralambos, 1984: 379-380).

The advent of the factory system resulted in the separation of women's roles - to those of wage workers and house workers. According to Oakley (1974), in the early stages of industrialisation (1750-1841) when the factory steadily replaced the family as the production unit, women were employed in the factories. But, their status as wage earners changed gradually with the passing of a series of factory Acts, which relegated the women back to the family and household work.

The relegation of women to household work was done on three fronts. First, beginning in 1819, through the philanthropic reformers, laws banning child labour were passed. Children became increasingly dependent on their parents and this necessitated care and supervision, a role which fell to women. Oakley (1974) argues that the differentiation of child and adult roles, and the child's growing dependence, heralded the dependence of women in marriage and their restriction to the home. Second, the men factory workers viewed the women as a threat to their employment. Since 1841, they campaigned against the employment of women and through their trade unions got the Govt to pass the laws which eliminated or reduced competition from women and returned them to the home. Third, the Victorian ideology stated that the woman's place is in the home. Even the media supported this ideology. Oakley (1974) claims that a combination of factors locked the majority of the women into the mother-housewife role. From 1914 to 1950 there was a tendency towards the employment of women coupled with a retention of housewifery as the primary role of the women. During these years, however, women received many legal and political rights eg. the vote in 1928.

Oakley (1974) concludes that industrialisation has had the following effects on the role of the women: a) separation of women from daily routines of domestic life; b) economic dependence of women and children on men; c) the isolation of housework and childcare from other work. The housewife-mother role had become institutionalised as the primary role for all British women in the twentieth century.

5.2.4.2. Women in KZN

Women's involvement in labour is reviewed in three distinct periods : the pre-colonial period ; the colonial period; the industrial period. The sexual division of labour is visible in all three periods but in the colonial and industrial periods division of labour takes on other

dimensions, that of race and class. In all periods and all races and classes, the centrality is patriarchy. For convenience and clarity, the involvement of women in the four dominant race groups in KZN is reviewed separately.

5.2.4.2.1. Africans

In the pre-colonial period, African societies had an essentially substance economy (Burman, 1990: 54). The homestead was the main unit of production in an economy dependent principally on both agriculture and pastoralism. There was a distinct sexual division of labour. Women and girls did most of the labour intensive agricultural work as well as the preparation of food., while men and boys were responsible for pastoral activities and the defence of the cattle. They were also hunters although hunting was usually a minor source of food (Guy, 1990).

In the colonial economy there was a reversal of roles for African men and women. Walker (1990) argues that the missionaries were strenuously opposed to what was perceived as male indolence and female slave labour in African society. The Christian ideology marginalised women from agricultural work and laid stress on domesticity and their productive and nurturing roles. The settlers supported the notion of domestic work for women and agricultural work for men. Furthermore, the policy of the British governors like Grey was to create an army of workers in the colonies who would build up a new civilisation known as the Western Civilisation. By every possible means Grey sought to bind the Africans to a money economy. To pay for the British goods, to contribute to the revenue and to pay fines the Africans had to work for money (Majeke, 1986). The Natal Colonial Govt in order to force the African into paid employment imposed the 'Hut Tax' (Guy, 1990). But, according to Hughes (1990), the greatest revolution in the sexual division of labour in the African community was caused by the introduction of the plough. She argues that since the men and boys had to work the plough, the women and girls were replaced as agricultural workers.

In the South African context, the sexual division of labour imported from Europe was altered. The settlers' class-based attitudes towards domestic work assumed a racial form. Many of the attributes of inferiority associated with domestic servants in Britain were transferred to Africans (Walker, 1990). For example, many of the immigrant White

women who came as governesses and domestic servants, married out of their contracts as there was a shortage of White women in the colonies. So, with the stroke of the pen these women became members of the racial ruling elite. With the acquisition of privileges, they had control and authority over African men and women. As there was a huge reservoir of cheap labour, White women hired African men and women as domestic servants to whom the onerous tasks of housework and childcare devolved. The White women's role in the running of the household became a supervisory one (ibid).

In the industrial period, sex roles were again redefined and the allocation of work according to sex was adjusted to suit the capitalistic state. Majeke (1986) states that the discovery of diamond and gold had opened up vast possibilities for development in commerce and industry. This demanded an ever-increasing supply of cheap Black labour for the mines, farms and the industrial towns. The rulers wanted to exploit African labour in order to build up the South African state but they wanted to forbid the Black people to share the fruits of the civilisation they were building. In other words they wanted to pull the African into the new economic system, but ensure White domination. This they attempted through the establishment of the Bantustans and the migrant labour system.

Lapchick and Urdang (1982) describe theory behind the migrant labour system. The Bantustans were to be home of every African's family while he travels to the White areas of South Africa to work. The women had to remain in the reserves, engaging in subsistence agriculture and thereby supporting themselves and their dependants; thus justifying the very low wages paid to the migrant workers. The impoverishment of the reserves and the heavy taxation gave the men no alternative but to seek work outside. The primary economic function of the African women was the reproduction of the African labour force, to the point that the domestic labour of the women in fact subsidised the Apartheid State (Guy, 1990).

At the same time many of the women failed to survive off the reserves. Lapchick & Urdang (1982), Walker (1990), Bonner (1990), Brink (1990) and Chisholm (1990) describe the migration of the women into the town in search of work and the problems accompanying it. The migrant labour system excluded African women from jobs in the industrial sector and compelled them to seek work in the domestic service and in informal sector such as beer-brewing, prostitution, hawking, laundry work etc. But as the White

women moved into better paid white collar jobs there arose shortage of labour in industries in the 1950's and 1960's. Moreover, the foreign investors to maximise profits began to employ the abundant cheap labour - the African women (Lapchick & Urdang, 1982: 126). Between 1946 and 1970, about 73 percent of African female production workers tended to be concentrated in the clothing, textile, food and drink industries (ibid: 65-66). In the female South African production workforce, the African women's presence was as follow: 16.8 percent in 1946; 27.8 percent in 1960; 44.5 percent in 1970 (Lapchick & Urdang, 1982: 67). From 1965 the African women moved so rapidly into industry and commerce that by 1980 they formed almost two third of all economically active women in South Africa (Perumal, 1985: 82).

The low number of African women in the industrial sector until the 1930's was as a result of their late proletarianisation (ibid). African men were more involved in industrial capital than the women were. According to Lapchick and Urdang (1982:65), among the African production workers in South Africa between 1946 and 1970, for example, the African women featured as follow : 2.2 percent in 1946; 3.1 percent in 1960; 7.4 percent in 1970. The great disparity in the proletarian African men and women might raise the question : *Why did more African men and not women join the capitalist sector?* The answer could be located in Bozzoli's (1983) assertion that the patriarchal relations in the pre-capitalist period subordinated the labour of women. It is the gender division of labour and the men's control over women's production that caused a struggle between men and women within the domestic sphere, as well as a struggle between the domestic and capitalistic spheres. With the advent of mining capital in the twentieth century, the link between industrial patriarchy and the emergence of the modern patriarchy was made clear.

5.2.4.2.2. Indians

Historically the number of Indian females entering the labour market was limited (Konar, 1989: 138). Beall (1990) describes the plight of 1860 Indian women settlers as pathetic. The planters saw no value in Indian women either as workers in the sugar industry or in the reproduction of labour power, preferring to depend on the system of indentured immigration to supply the male workforce. On the plantations a clear sexual division of labour was established. Women's tasks involved hoeing, weeding, planting beans and cowpeas between rows of sugar cane and cutting cane.

The tea estates made the most intensive use of Indian women's labour. There were several reasons for this. First, since the industry was not highly profitable, the women could be paid low wages, usually half of men's pay. Second, it was suitable for women because it did not need strength but considerable dexterity and endurance because of the long hours. Third, the women could be given short time after the picking season. The Indian women also worked in the market gardens as cultivators and distributors of fruits and vegetables. Women's work was generally backbreaking and monotonous (ibid).

In the late colonial period, some of the Indian women were employed as domestic servants in White homes and sorters and pickers of coal in the coal mines (ibid). In 1891, women formed 13 percent of the total Indian workforce and in 1904, the figure rose to 15 percent. The census figures for these years reveal that the Indian women were more active than White women in the ratio of 2 : 1 (Beall, 1982:175).

In the industrial period, the Indian women, however, had the lowest involvement in the industrial work. Of all the female South African production workers between 1946 and 1970, the Indian women workers were as follow: 2.0 percent in 1946; 3.8 percent in 1960; 7.0 percent in 1970 (Lapchick & Urdang, 1982:65). The Indian women entered the industrial work between 1945 and 1960 (Perumal, 1985:82). But, in the early industrial period, some of the Indian women were employed in White homes and in the coal mines (Beall, 1990).

5.2.4.2.3. Whites

Beall (1982:92) states that in the early years Natal was largely an agricultural settlement, but in spite of this, the involvement of the Whites was marginal. For example, in 1891, only 18.6 percent of the White workforce were involved in agricultural activities and in 1904, this figure dropped to below 15.6 percent (ibid :119-120). The reasons for this were that most of the rural Whites were land owners who employed African and Indian labourers; as most of them were skilled workers they directed labour without themselves labouring; and some of the Whites were urbanised by this period (ibid).

The White women's involvement in the labour force was very low (ibid :119). The

Victorian ideology that the woman's place is in the home seems to have governed the women. Evidence for this could be found in Beall's revelation that in 1891, for example, out of every ten females listed as economically inactive, three were in school, five were engaged in domestic or household work for no remuneration and two belonged to a class that did not require women to work (ibid:120-121).

In 1891, only 3.5 percent of the White women workers were employed on the farms and in 1904, this figure rose to 7.2 percent (ibid). The White women did all the work requiring skills such as butter and cheese production but the heavy work on the farms were delegated to Africans and Indians. The White women were concentrated in the service sector, where about 75 percent of working women were active. In this sector, the women were most prevalent in the professions such as missionaries, nuns, nurses and schoolteachers. In 1904, there was an increase of women in the domestic service as servants, governesses, housekeepers, gardeners and laundresses (ibid :124). In the manufacturing sector, 16 percent of the women were employed in 1891 and 12 percent in 1904. They were employed as dressmakers, milliners and seamstresses. As for mining and construction, these remained exclusively male preserves amongst the Whites in 1904 (ibid :124). In 1891, 5 percent of the women were working in commerce and finance but in 1904 this rose to 13.3 percent because of the tremendous expansion. They were employed as typists, secretaries, stenographers, accountants and clerks. These developments were in keeping with what was happening in Britain (ibid :123).

At the end of the Anglo-Boer War the situation changed drastically. With much of the agricultural farms being destroyed, a large number of the Whites moved into the urban areas. The hardship following the world wars and the depression and drought of 1932 greatly increased the urbanisation of Whites. Farmers migrated with their families to the towns in large numbers looking for livelihood. The White men were employed in the mines but there was no employment for White women in the mines. This resulted in most of the women returning to roles of housewives and mothers instead being co-workers in the economy. Furthermore, in the urban areas, the Afrikaans-speaking women had no career training and little academic training compared to the English-speaking women. Therefore, the English-speaking women had better job opportunities (Gericke, 1982).

White women seem to have been employed in the industry in fairly large numbers

(Gericke, 1983:52). By 1937, they were most active in the services and commerce. According to Bruce (quoted in Gericke, 1983:53), by 1919 a large proportion of White women were employed in civil service because it was a secure occupation with a steady salary and little responsibilities. In 1973, Wessels in a HSRC study found that the greatest demand for White women's labour was in clerical and administrative work (Gericke, 1983:54). By the 1980s, the attitude to the employment of married women had changed completely. This attitude is reflected by Prekel (1981):

... the call for better utilisation is not only in the interest of women, or even of employers : it is in the interests of the country and the communities as a whole. The country needs women, and particularly the more educated intelligent and capable women, to fulfil their roles not only at home as mothers but also in the economy as responsible and productive workers. We can no longer afford the luxury of expecting a woman to choose between fulfilment of her 'woman's role' in marriage and motherhood, and the personal satisfaction and growth career achievement if she feels the need to express herself in a career.

(Quoted in Gericke, 1983:53-54)

More and more married women are entering the labour market, particularly as part-time workers. Some of these, significantly, are in the fields for which they not qualified (eg sales, clerical work, secretarial). Although women are largely employed in the lower levels of industry and management. It is becoming more common to find women in higher managerial posts. For example, Prekel found that in 1980, 35 percent of the married women were in managerial positions as compared to 1.3 percent in 1951 (quoted in Gericke, 1983:53)

5.2.4.2.4. Coloureds

There is no record of large scale involvement of Coloured women in the Natal economy. It seems that the main reason for this is that the Coloureds were always a small minority in KZN. At the earliest census, in 1904, 6 686 Coloureds were enumerated in Natal (Horrell, 1970:18). It is argued, therefore, that this is a crucial factor to explain the Coloured women's marginal involvement in the economy of Natal at any time.

There is little evidence of the Coloured women's involvement in agricultural activities. Behr (1952:57) states that the few Coloured who accompanied the Voortrekkers into Natal

were labourers and domestic servants. Presumably, the males were farmhands and the females domestic servants for the Trekboers. But the main occupation available for the Coloured girls in the early days was domestic work in Whites' homes (The Natal Mercury, 24/07/1936). By the 1930's, they had entered the factory (The Natal Mercury, 24/07/1936) and later they were employed in shops as saleswomen (ibid). The girls got employment quite easily because of the low wages paid to them, and the boys were apprenticed as artisans (op cit). On the other hand, in this period, there was very high concentration of Coloured women in the Cape industries; they comprised about half of the Coloured women workforce in the Western Cape and Port Elizabeth regions (Perumal, 1988:87).

Between 1945 and 1960, the Coloured women were concentrated in the Natal industrial sector when they replaced the White women who left for the public service, commerce and finance. But, about 43.8 percent of the Coloured women workforce were concentrated in the service sector (ibid: 82-83). In South Africa as a whole, the Coloured female production workers in the latter part of the twentieth century were as follows : 1946 : 33.2 percent; 1960 : 45.1 percent; 1970 : 39.8 percent (Lapchick & Urdang, 1982:67). The growth in Coloured women's industrial labour in KZN appears to have been fairly static if the trends in the Durban region are used to judge the situation (vide Figure 6 in Perumal, 1988:88).

5.2.5. The Professionalisation of Women Teachers

5.2.5.1. The Feminisation of Teaching

By 1900, teaching was highly feminised occupation (Durbin & Kent, 1989:2). Three reasons are cited for for this development. First, there were few occupational opportunities open to women. Second, the only formal occupational role for which primary school education prepared a substantial number of women was teaching. Third, in the late 1800s when mass primary school education was provided the States recruited women to teach because women were an available and inexpensive source of labour (ibid)

On the supply side, the 'flexibility option' that female teachers who take temporary leaves do not suffer subsequent wage loss upon re-entry, is shown to be an important attraction of the teaching profession to women (Flyer and Rosen, 1997).

5.2.5.2. Women Teachers in Britain

Deem (1987) and Weiner (1990) argue very strongly that women's jobs on the job market are often extensions of their domestic roles which involve caring for, waiting on, clearing and tidying up, restoring order etc. The analogy between housework and paid employment also extends to the professions such as schoolteaching. Therefore, in Britain, although just over half of all schoolteachers are women, three-quarters of them are concentrated in the primary schools. In many respects, this reflects their childcare roles in the home (Lewenhak, 1992).

Middleton (1987) studied education and work orientation among working class secondary school girls in London. She discovered that : the curriculums were sex-differentiated; the boys' subjects enjoyed a higher status than girls' subjects; the girls were schooled with marriage in mind. The girls' attitude to work reflected their school experience and the general cultural definitions of women's roles. Office work was the most popular choice, followed by a group of occupations which included teaching and nursing.

5.2.5.3. Women Teachers in KZN

Like her British counterparts, Christie (1987:77) asserts that ' Nursing and primary school teaching were seen as occupations most suitable for women, and both of these were 'domestic' kind of work - just on a higher level'. Literature reviews on the training and work of women teachers in South Africa and, in deed KZN reflect this theory and practice.

5.2.5.3.1. Africans

According to Pandor (1994:100), traditionally, teaching and nursing were the most suitable and accessible careers for African women. Most of the early African women professionals were teachers. For many of them teaching was considered a worthwhile career that enhanced the women's status and that of their families (ibid). Moreover, the African entered teaching because of the need to work and earn a living as early as possible. For economic reasons, the African youth experience a need to enter the job market earlier than the youth of other race groups in South Africa. Supporting the family very often became the responsibility of the young women because the men could very well have escaped to

the mines or to 'new' families leaving the families destitute. Therefore, for the African women, teaching and nursing became attractive options (ibid).

However, the professional status of the African women teachers was lowered in the 1930s. The trend was to replace the males with cheaper female teachers in the primary schools. This practice escalated in 1945 with the state training and using women to teach junior primary classes. This policy shift restricted women to junior primary teaching while the men had the access to the better paid higher primary and secondary teaching posts (ibid).

The training of African women teachers was initiated by the mission schools especially the Adams Mission and the Inanda Seminary (Hughes, 1990). Shayi (1996) asserts that the women were disadvantaged from the start because the goals of the mission institutions required teacher trainees take an active part in church work as pastors, evangelists, preachers and Sunday School teachers. If Hughes (1990) observation that except teaching all the others were male occupations are correct, then the women's chances of training as teachers might have suffered a setback as the emphasis at the Mission training schools was on the training of evangelist teachers.

5.2.5.3.2. Indians

Ismail (1994) describes Indian women as home-based educators like women in all other cultures. Although most of the Indian women in earlier times were not literate in English, they provided their daughters with a home-based education centring on wifhood, motherhood and domestic work. This pattern still prevails.

When the Indians realised the need for formal education for their daughters there was a lack of trained women teachers. For a number of years Whit women were used to teach in the girls' schools. As late as 1942 there were a negligible number of Indian women teachers. In the 1950's, women with a Gr 10 education received teacher training for two years. They taught mainly in the primary schools. However, by 1989 there was a teaching force of about 10 000 teachers (men and women) of whom 84 percent were on M + 3 category or higher (Naidoo, 1989:120-1).

When the Indian parents' attitude to their girl children's education changed, there rose the

problem of shortage of women teachers the growing number of girls at the schools. Therefore, girls with Gr 10 education were recruited to train as teachers to meet the demand. With time, the number of Indian women teachers grew to such an extent that now they comprise the largest body of professionals in the Indian community.

5.2.5.3.3. Whites

According to Van der Linde (1994:107), for many centuries White women in South Africa have been involved in education. Every woman was responsible for the non-formal and informal education of her children. The children in the unestablished land were taught by their mothers, in some cases to read and write, and always how to behave and what to believe.

White women, however, began to leave the home in order to enter the labour market. It began after the Anglo-Boer and gained momentum after the World Wars. At the same time it became apparent that the mother's educative role in the family was diminishing and that the formal aspect of education was being handled by another woman - the teacher in the classroom.

According to Gericke (1983), prior to the industrial period it was rare for White women to participate in the economy. But, the two exceptions to this were the fields of teaching and nursing, thus establishing from an early date the predominance of women in these professions. Van der Linde (1994:107) argues that it there was a perception that teaching was an ideal profession for a woman- especially a married one. Traditionally, the White women had chosen teaching as a career because it was thought it was possible to combine teaching with the role of mother in the home. They were responsible for continuing in school the nurturing and educative task begun in the home.

5.2.5.3.4. Coloureds

Like the women of the other race groups, the only professions open to the Coloured women in the beginning were teaching and nursing (Horrell, 1970). This was entrenched by the Govt's policy of barring the Coloureds from the Civil and Municipal services (The Natal Mercury, 24/07/1936). Poverty and negative parental attitude seldom allowed

Coloured children to remain in school even until Gr 7. Therefore, the girls who had passed Gr 8 were allowed to train as teachers (ibid). Even when secondary education for Coloured increased between 1910 and 1963, teaching remained the only profession open to them (Horrell, 1970:64). Furthermore, teaching was considered the work of women as the majority of Coloured men trained as artisans after Gr 9 (Horrell, 1970).

Most of the women were trained to teach in the primary schools, especially the LP classes (Grs 1-4). These LP teachers were offered the LPTC course, with Gr 10 entrance qualification, which was closed to men (Behr, 1984). What is remarkable is that Coloured women with Gr 10 education were allowed to train as teachers well into the 1980s (ibid). This factor might account for the low qualification of the Coloured women teachers.

5.2.5.4. Positions of Power in Education

According to Greyvenstein and Van der Westhuizen (1992), gender inequity and under-representation of women in educational management has been researched in the UK and the USA during past ten and twenty years respectively and the RSA only recently. In the RSA, there is a minimum amount of available research on gender issues in education, relating more to the general position of women within the education profession not specifically to women in educational management (ibid).

International and national literature reveals that women are still grossly under-represented in positions of power in education (Shayi, 1996; Africa, 1997; Bellas, 1999; Singh, 2000). On the international front, for example, a comparative study on women in management positions in higher education conducted jointly by UNESCO and the Association of Commonwealth Universities reveals that with hardly an exception the senior management in universities is overwhelmingly a male preserve the world-over (cited in Singh, 2000). In the UK, Lewenhak (1992:190) found that in positions of power such as heads and deputy heads of schools, the men were far in excess of women. Shakeshaft (1989) presents an equally bleak picture of women in the USA. For example, in 1905, 97.9 percent of the elementary schools teachers were women but only 61.7 percent of the principals of these schools were females. In the same year, women comprised 64.2 percent and only 5.7 percent were principals. In 1972/1973, women secondary principalships were at an all time low of 1.4 percent whereas there were 46 percent women teachers. As recently as 1985,

there were only 3.5 percent female principals in a population of 50.1 percent secondary teachers. Shakeshaft (1989) concludes that the statistics on gender are neither accurate nor up to date. Shayi (1996) labels this neglect as 'conspiracy of silence' - a theory espoused by Hansot and Tyack (1981).

The position of women teachers in the RSA appears to be similar. According to Wyatt and Atkinson (1992:214) :

... men have been provided opportunities to be leaders; women opportunities to be followers. Nowhere is this delineation of roles more clearly evident than in schools where most of the teachers are women, but most of the principals, particularly at secondary school level, are men.

According to Greyvenstein and Van der Westhuizen (1991), the representation of White women in high schools principalships is very low. They found that in White education about 25 percent of the teacher were males and 75 percent females and yet less than 5 percent of the secondary school principals were females.

In African education the trend is similar. For example, in the ex-DET secondary schools in SA, in 1993, men comprised 57 percent of all teachers but they occupied 90 percent of the principalships, 74 percent of the deputy principalships and 64 percent of the HOD posts (Africa, 1997:22).

The male/female imbalances in management positions in schools are prevalent at each level of the hierarchy. However, the gap at L2 (HOD) is fairly narrow but it widens as one proceeds up the hierarchy.

Africa (1997) and Shayi (1996) have cited several reasons (barriers) for women's under-representation on the management positions in education. Both categories these barriers as external (extrinsic) and internal (intrinsic).

Shakeshaft (1989:82) describes internal and external barriers as 'those that can be overcome by individual change, whereas external barriers require social or institutional change.' To elaborate on this, De Witt (1991: 545) that '... internal or personal barriers which influence the life women are generally regarded as the so called 'lacks' or 'inadequacies' which are within women because of their femaleness.' Her further argues internal barriers are 'self-inflicted' but they are 'activated by external factors and limiting

situations which women have to endure in contemporary society.' Pigford and Tonnsen (1993) describes internal barriers as those concerning a woman's feelings and beliefs about herself and her roles. Hansot and Tyack (1981) explain this behaviour by attributing it to socialisation and sex role stereotyping. Greyvenstein (1989:14) states that people have certain myths about typical female characteristics; nevertheless, she lists some of the internal barriers: poor self-image; lack of assertiveness; lack of self-confidence; dependence; excessively emotional reactions.

Shayi (1996) contends that external barriers to women's success and access to leadership positions stem largely from patriarchy. Van der Westhuizen (1991) argues that identifying which barriers are acute in the struggle for women to gain leadership position in their profession is difficult, for women in first world countries and patriarchal third world countries may list different barriers. However, Hawkins (1991) cites eight external barriers: male dominance; socialisation; discrimination; responsibilities for family and home; lack of experience; lack of encouragement; perceived lack of ability; lack of role models.

The literature suggests that internal and external barriers seriously undermine women's advancement in education. The internal barriers seem to be easier to overcome as the individual has to change. But the external barriers set and embedded in society are difficult to overcome. Change will be a long and slow process. Hawkins (1991:44) notes: "*Internal and external barriers stem from a culture of attitudes of long-term standing. If change is to truly bring about equity between females and males, people's attitudes must change.*"

5.2.6. Remuneration

5.2.6.1. The Breadwinner Ideology

The term breadwinner generally refers to the chief wage earner in the household (Bendeman, 1994). It is an ideological concept, both religious and political, which denotes that the breadwinner is a male. Married female members of staff are hardly ever considered to be breadwinners (ibid). Implicit in this ideology is the wife's wage is supplementary to the husband's income. The idea of male breadwinner appears to be the

main reason for the lower wages and service benefits paid to women workers and their job insecurity. The breadwinner concept affects travel and removal costs, housing subsidies and medical aid benefits (ibid)

Beechy (1977) and Bruegel (1975) argue that married may be paid lower wages and be easily dismissed because they are partially supported by their husband. Women are harder hit by under-employment and unemployment than their male counterparts, as openings in the job market are offered to men first. Furthermore, women are more vulnerable to redundancy and retrenchment than men in similar circumstances.

In the past, women teachers were deemed to have resigned on the working day preceding their marriage and were re-employed if their services were required. Married women teachers who were breadwinners did not receive recognition for this from the Depts of Education. In respect of this, all the regulations and policies of the Education Depts of SA were in accord (Gericke, 1983:190). Evidence of bureaucracy can be found in the letter from the Natal Director of Education to the NTS dated 29/06/1979. The NED defined breadwinner as a parent who had children resident with her and was either single, widowed or divorced. This definition was too narrow because a married woman supporting a husband who was a student or unemployed was not considered a breadwinner (cited in Mentor, 1979, 61(5)).

The ideology of male breadwinner is challenged by feminists. Literature reveals that breadwinner is a relative concept. Perumal (1988) and McNeil (1989) who studied African women clothing and textile workers and domestic workers respectively concluded that the role of breadwinner is not gender-specific. McNeil (1989:116-7) informs this study that a number of studies have shown that female-centred households are a major characteristic of SA. These households resemble male-centred households. Where there are two women in the household, one may go out to work while the other remains at home to care for the children. The woman who works outside assumes the role of breadwinner, which would otherwise be the role of the man in a male-headed household. These women's roles can change with changed circumstances.

To sum up, traditionally, the man was the breadwinner as he was the primary provider for the family. The wife's salary was regarded as a supplement to his. However, traditions

have changed. In modern times, the working woman is recognised as the co-breadwinner or sole breadwinner in certain circumstances, in SA included. Differentiation in salaries and benefits cannot, therefore, be justifiable merely on account of tradition or prejudice. The concept is outmoded and has no legal and therefore has to be abandoned.

5.2.6.2. Work with No Pay

From women's perspective, domestic work and family care are two types of unpaid work if they are performed by wives and mothers. Unpaid work has an indirect impact on the economy. It is generally accepted that unpaid work done in the home 'lowers the cost of production of the labour force and subsidises the male paid labour' (Flyer and Rosen, 1997; Marks, 1987; Lapchick & Urdang, 1982; Majeke, 1986). There was always the curious anomaly that if servants performed the wives' household duties the work had cash value. The wives have to perform these in exchange for marriage and security (Einhorn & Yeo, 1995).

Even in Britain, women's value in the family economy did not translate into the discourse of the political economy, which did not recognise the women's unpaid family and domestic work as work at all. Only work which produced exchange value, that is, work which produced commodities or services which could be exchanged for profit in the market was considered value-creating by theories of political economy whether classical or Marxist (Yeo, 1995:134).

Women's problems with their family work started receiving attention only in the mid-1960s when academics began to question the effect women's sole responsibility for unpaid work in homes and for families had on their status. In China, for example, people came to realise that unpaid home and family work has economic value (Lewenhak, 1992). The brainwave was that when the elderly people, both men and women, performed these duties, the younger women were freed to go out and do paid job and thereby increase the family income (ibid). Therefore, in the Marriage Laws of 1950, China enacted that a wife's work in the family home is equivalent to a husband's work outside and this gives the wife the right in the family property equal to that of her husband. In Cuba, the 1974 Constitution has laid down that the marriage partners have to share the running of the house. In other countries, however, old attitudes cannot be simply legislated away (ibid).

For example, in 1980's, a male member of the Egyptian Parliament perturbed at the entry of women paid jobs proposed that the women be paid 'wages for housework' at the rates they were earning to return the home and family work. This was rejected by the organised, educated Egyptian professional women (ibid).

The provision of home-based education and training is unpaid work. In pre-feudal and subsistence societies the parents and the elders undertook to train and educate the children in the skills needed to survive in their worlds (Lewenhak, 1992). In societies where women are to specialise in home maintenance and family care, elder females, especially provide for a large part of a family's total cultural needs, for example, the African and Indians (Walker, 1990; Rambiritch, 1955). Generally, it was assumed that agricultural and domestic do not require any education (Lewenhak, 1992: 181). Even in modern societies a mother is the transmitter of values of all kinds, the teacher of laws, natural and human-made, responsible for the integration of the new young individual into its own family and the community in which it lives. Paradoxically, all this valuable education work is unpaid work and it may have little or no value as it done by a woman in her home (Bellas, 1999). This attitude towards 'home training' and education impacts on the pay women teachers receive.

5.2.6.3. Work with Low Pay

It is a well-known fact that women earned or still earn less than men for the same work. Because of the 'marriage bar' it was generally expected that women would hold paid jobs for only periods of their lives; a principal reason for their unequal opportunities for training. Added to the myth they would never have to provide financial support for their families it was also advanced as a justification for their lower rates of pay (Lewenhak, 1992). At the same time, in the value of women's unpaid domestic work makes them readier to accept low wages. Expectations of marriage and having a family divert girls from thoughts of careers and make them accept jobs with low pay, usually as a time-filler between schooling and marriage.

The value of women's paid teaching work is partly determined by their opportunities for obtaining paid jobs (Lewenhak, 1992: 190). More than that, women teachers' pay is largely influenced by the unpaid teaching work they do in the home. The belief that the

education imparted by the women teachers in the pre-primary and primary classes is a continuation of the education transmitted by mothers in the home lowers the cash value of the teachers' work. Since women are concentrated in the primary schools, the perception is that women's teaching work demands low pay (Peterson, 1971; Einhorn & Yeo, 1995).

5.2.6.4. Same Work with Differential Pay

the established pattern of women's low pay, in the nineteenth century Europe for example, followed them into totally new kinds of jobs which developed, such as postal services, wireless telegraphy, public transport, public education and mechanical and electrically engineering. Furthermore, as vital production and service jobs such as food-processing, manufacture of beverages, catering, cleaning, laundering, nursing, childcare and teaching infants and juniors moved out of homes, they became and remain low-paid jobs, even in societies which have adopted the most up-to-date technologies (Lewenhak, 1992: 24-5). These factors in the evaluation of women's work are characteristic of every country, including those with socialist Govts like Russia (ibid).

Ever since, women had entered paid work, they have been demanding pay parity with men and recognition of the economic value of their paid work. However, they had progressed in obtaining paid work, at lower rates and often in inessential jobs, which services only undermine the value of their unpaid domestic work.

In many case the women's professions such as nursing, social work and teaching began as unpaid voluntary service in Britain (Yeo, 1995: 138). If they were paid, as in teaching, women earned significantly lower salaries for doing the same work as men (ibid). Even in China where since the foundation of New China in 1949, the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women has been in place, due to current differences in cultural and professional competences as well as occupational composition, some real income gaps still exist between men and women (Bohong and Rong, 1995: 199).

Teachers in pre-school and primary education, and in the lower forms of secondary schools, are generally low-graded and lower-paid than those teaching older children (Peterson, 1971). The older the pupils, the more their education consists of imparting to them knowledge of specialised skills required in paid jobs. This type of teaching carries a

higher cash value than instruction in social behaviour and more widely. Only now women are breaking out of the circle of curricula orientated to preserve their secondary status in low-valued unpaid home and family work, the arts and lower-graded jobs in light manufacturing and service occupations. They are trained to teach therefore, mainly in this range of subjects. Their greatest contribution, however - the socialisation of children, through their dominance of nursery level teaching - is still under-rated in spite its status as a highly branch of education (Lewenhak, 1992: 183).

5.3. Sexist Language

The rationale for studying sexism in language has been largely derived from the argument that the nature of language influences and structures, if not determines, social relations. Consequently, feminists in order to challenge sexism in society have begun to question and challenge previously accepted forms of sexism in language (Abraham, 1989:33). From a feminist perspective, it is argued that language is integral to the power dynamics between men and women. The more dynamic 'male' language enables men to function in dominant roles and the restricted 'female' language is used by women in their more subservient roles (Lakoff, 1975). The male form empowers men to participate successfully in social, political and economic activities but the female form is generally used by women in the private domain such as the home.

The theoretical aspects are discussed in the previous study of the present writer (vide Ponnusamy, 1995:58-60, 101- 103). But the review centres mainly on western perspectives. Therefore, it is considered pertinent to this study to review work on sexist language usage from other perspectives. For example, it is important to see how the different forms of language is used to show power relations between men and women in daily life in some traditional communities. The review focuses on the West Indians, the Africans in SA and the Indians of India.

Janssen-Jurreit (1982) provides some insights into how language is used by some Indian tribes in the West to show male power and female subordination.

Just as puzzling as grammatical gender are the different women's and men's languages spoken concurrently within one tribe. In Carib, after their passage rites, young men

scrupulously avoid the women's language and use only the male language. A number of theories have been developed to explain this phenomenon, but what psychic, social, religious or other motives preserved this language separation has still not been explained. However, one writer regards the sharp separation of the work spheres as a cause for the differentiation between men's and women's expression.

Some British ethnologists and students of myths, believed that in many marital liaisons between two tribes with different languages each sex retained its own language, but only one of the two languages was used as a means of communication between them. For example, in a city in Paraguay where the women understand Guarani exclusively, while men always speak Spanish to each other and use Guarani only in conversation with their wives.

Linguistic taboos exist among the American Indians; women cannot use words that designate male commodities such as weapons. In some cases the women would use a men's words for men's things, and the men would use special male words for women's things eg cooking utensils.

Some linguists explain that the men's and women's languages develop mainly from men's fear of being infected by the weakness of women.

The Uku 'Hlonipha laws or the laws of Respect for Elders affect the language of the African women, including Zulu women in KZN. A.P.L (1931) and Raum (1973) argue that the 'Hlonipha laws have led to the existence of two forms of the Zulu language, a male form and a female form. According to A.P.L. the language used by the men is what we call the Zulu language; the other language form used by women is similar to the male language in many respects but differs largely in others because a married woman may not pronounce the name of any article or subject having the first syllable similar to that of her husband's name. The natural consequence of this avoidance is that the women are to make up words to describe the desired article, the meaning of which words, in many cases, can only be understood by considering the context of the sentence in which they appear. In order that the woman may apply correctly the working of these laws or customs, she is instructed in them, by example, from childhood. Therefore the children growing up in the community have their own little difficulties to overcome: Apt phrasing is an art that must be learnt by

them so that they do not infringe the Uku'Hlonipha law. If a name or word they want to use does not exist, the mind must be quick and the child's knowledge of various words, all usable by their context in the sentence, must be extensive and varied if he or she is to keep clear of the effects of infringing the law. The Uku 'Hlonipha law is one of the greatest educational and social custom systems of the Zulu.

Raum (1973) and Walker (1928) discuss the invention of new words by Zulu women. Walker (1928:118) asserts that the Zulu women to avoid mentioning the names of their husbands' male relatives have to invent new words and therefore the women of the conservative tribes have a private vocabulary of about 5000 words. Raum (1973), on the other hand, found that the extent of the substitute vocabulary the women develop depends on the number of 'in-laws' names they have to avoid. According to Raum, married women have to avoid the names of not only their husbands but the husbands' elders, their chiefs and so on. Nor has a woman her substitute vocabulary in common with other women unless they are married into the same family. The substitute vocabulary is not even private since the substitute words are known to the kinsmen and the neighbours as they may be called upon to interpret them to the outsiders.

Dowling (1988) and Marks (1986) assert that the working of Uku 'Hlonipha law tends towards masculine authoritarianism or the subordination of married women. Looked at from a feminist perspective the Uku 'Hlonipha practice contains elements of sexism. Dowling says that Cameron (1985:145) alludes to this phenomenon when she argues that

the institutions that regulate language use in our own society, and indeed those of most societies, are deliberately oppressive to women. Men control ... simply because it is the prerogative of those with economic and political power to set up and regulate important social institutions.

Quoted in Sienaert & Bell (1988:178)

Quite clearly the Uku 'Hlonipha laws disadvantage and disempower women since they have to change Zulu usage upon marriage.(Widows are freed from this encumbrance, however.) Firstly, the change in the form of the language by implication lowers the status of the user. But Raum (1973) rejects the notion of a lower status being assigned to women on account of the Uku 'Hlonipha law as men are also subjected to this law, (i.e. to avoid the names of ancestors or living elders).Secondly, the users' communication becomes verbose and complicated. For example, Raum (1973) found that European shopkeepers

used to find it difficult to guess what women wanted since the objects they wished to buy might have names like their husbands'. Thirdly, a practical difficulty occurs in schools as teachers find teaching Zulu to small children is complicated by the fact that they are taught by their mothers to avoid certain names or words (ibid).

In Maputaland, also known as Thongaland, northern KZN, two forms of Zulu is used by the inhabitants, a male form and a female form, which is a mixture of Zulu, Swazi and Sewsati. This form of language is call Thonga or Tsonga. Webster (1991) found in his research that the inhabitants belong to two different ethnic affiliations. The unusual aspect is that husbands and wives, or more pertinently, fathers and daughters or even brothers and sisters often portray themselves as having differing ethnic affiliations, namely, Zulu or Thonga. To be a Thonga is considered inferior. One of the distinguishing features between these subcultures is the language the members use. Although the men and women are bilingual, the women speak Thonga and the men speak Zulu. As Thonga is considered an 'inferior' language most of the men avoid it, lest they become stigmatised.

Within Thongaland, Thonga is widely spoken in the context of most of the human activities such as agriculture and fishing. It is a language used by women in their work parties and other social activities. Boys grow up speaking Thonga to their mothers, siblings and playmates but they switch to the more dominant Zulu when they become conscious of themselves as males. Zulu is the discourse of the public domain. A widespread local belief is that one's chances of finding employment are enhanced if one is Zulu-speaking. Migrant labour and Zulu identity have become necessary equivalents. Zulu has been the medium of instruction in schools while there is no written tradition in Thonga.

From a teacher's perspective, Masuku (1953) asserts that the major technical difficulty in Maputa schools is the language used by the learners. The boys speak Zulu and the girls Thonga. The men and boys speak their Zulu as a sign of cleverness and superiority over the womenfolk. Masuku says its very interesting to listen to a conversation when the male talks in Zulu and the female responds in Thonga. The teachers have to work hard to check the Thonga language of the girls and to improve the Zulu of the boys.

In the international front, there is a perspective that a knowledge of the English is

empowering. This perception is gathering momentum largely through Globalisation. But, long before the emergence of this phenomenon, English was the lingua franca for success in the former British colonies such as India and South Africa, more particularly KZN. However, discriminatory practices are evident in the accessibility of women to the learning of English.

In the context of women's education in India, it was generally considered quite unnecessary for women to learn a foreign language such as English. Vedatirtha (1995) asserts that learning a foreign language places an undue burden on women and girls, who in any event do not have to vie for securing services outside their kind of work. Vedatirtha's views are an echo of Gandhi's views on women's learning of English in India. Gandhi (cited in Sharma & Sharma, 1995) argues that a knowledge of English is not necessary either for men or women but he makes allowance for men to learn it as they are the ones who participate in the economy or politics. He believed that women did not need to earn a livelihood or participate in public life like men; and therefore learning English was not necessary for all women.

In KZN African education, a similar policy was advocated in the 1920s. Muhlbauer (1927) discusses the fear of many (Whites) about the competition from the better educated Africans and the resultant restructuring of the curriculum, with emphasis on practical subjects important for life of the African. Through this restructuring the schools were put under tremendous pressure to transform and streamline the curriculum. Muhlbauer suggested then that the teaching of English be restricted to the intermediate and the high schools and that it should not be taught in the location schools where chiefly girls attended. His argument was that English was useless to the girls because hardly anyone of them had the desire to migrate to the great cities. The result of this attitude is reflected in Cook's description of a group of African student teachers. Cook reports that 43.4 percent of the male and 81.1 percent of the female students preferred to teach through the medium of native languages rather than English or Afrikaans (Cook, 1939:67).

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter set out to provide some insights into concepts such as family, marriage, sexist language and division of work that are defined and described as social and cultural institutions where discrimination against women occurs in the first place. From there the discriminatory attitude against them as workers and teachers is transferred to the workplace. Other concepts pertaining to women's education and training as teachers, their conditions of service, job security and job satisfaction etc have been reviewed elsewhere in this dissertation. In fact, the data presented in this chapter serve to supplement the data presented there. The methods used to collect the data, and to interpret, analyse and describe them are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Doing Research with KZN Women Teachers

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the different methods that were used to explore the research question. As the terms of the question dictated that data had to be collected on a wide range of issues concerning women teachers of the four dominant race groups in the KZN province, a multiple-method approach had to be adopted. The use of multiple methods was necessary because a large amount of data had to be gathered in a hitherto unresearched area to answer the critical questions.

The aim of the study is to provide a composite picture of the life of the women teachers in the KZN province. Consideration was therefore directed to the different conditions under which women teachers were and still are employed, to their social, cultural, educational, economic and political backgrounds, their professional attitude to and their relationship with their families, charges, colleagues and the Employer. Throughout, interconnections between the work situation and the private experiences of the women were noted for possible repercussions the one may have on the other. Overall, the multiple method approach to data gathering proved to be very successful.

6.2. Background to the Study

The writer's MED study which focussed on the education of the South African Indian females provided a platform for the present research. Although the study focused on girl students mainly, it emerged that women teachers had a crucial role to play in their education and that this aspect was unresearched in KZN province. However, the study did focus on some issues concerning women teachers, but it did not explore them to gain an in-depth knowledge or understanding as this was outside the scope of the study. Therefore, the need for a more comprehensive study on the KZN women teachers presented itself.

At the conception of this study, the Indian women were uppermost in the researcher's

mind but the changing face of South Africa after 1994 made him reconsider the direction the study should take. It was felt that it would be more enriching to see how women teachers in general and not Indian women teachers per se were affected by the various factors which inhibited their progress within the system. The focus of the study captured in the critical questions is on social, cultural and educational factors which affect the careers and conditions of work for all KZN women teachers. Furthermore, it was felt that a study of Indian women teachers could be parochial in nature and it would not address the forces that come to play within a new system of education which sees the merger of the various ex-Depts of Education. These forces would affect not only Indian women teachers but all teachers within the new education system.

However, the researcher was not unmindful of the vastness of the ground to be covered by the inclusion of women of all the historically designated race groups in the study. Moreover, because of the depth of analysis required it was decided not to broaden the parameters. It therefore meant investigating women teachers' issues within the KZN province only.

But this did not solve the problem adequately as the study of the cultural, social and political conditions and practices of each historically designated race group proved far more formidable. To circumvent this problem it became necessary to present the prevailing conditions and practices in the lives of the women in the form of an overview. It was also felt that this approach might serve another purpose, that is, it should become a baseline study since a study of this magnitude on the women teachers in KZN has not to-date been undertaken.

The study is framed within the tradition of Sociology of Education. However, counter claims could be made since data from such disciplines as history, economics, psychology, politics and geography are included. For example, because a large amount of historical data are included, it could be argued that the study belongs in the tradition of History of Education. Such an argument is justifiable but the purpose of including the historical data is to establish a context for the study. This justification is strengthened when attention is directed to the paucity of information on the KZN women teachers. Furthermore, it emerged that factors belonging to various disciplines had affected the lives of the women teachers. It is believed that compartmentalising these factors into these disciplines is

artificial and it is done for the convenience of social scientists and academics. Therefore, in this study every effort was made to integrate the large amount of data and present them from the perspective of Sociology of Education.

6.3. Searching for a Feminist Methodology

The discussion that follows is presented in three parts. In the first part, the traditional research methodology is reviewed and the notion of value-freedom is critiqued because it is believed that the researcher in social science is never value-free as might be the case with the traditional researcher in a positivistic natural context. Feminist social science and its methodology are reviewed in the second part. Here its aims, the premises it works from and the suggestions it makes are considered. In the third part, the research methodology used in this study, reasons for using the qualitative and quantitative research methods and the ways in which feminist research methods have informed the study are discussed.

6.3.1. Traditional Research Methodology

Stanley and Wise (1983), McGrath et al. (in Oskamp & Costanzo, 1993) and Haralambos (1984) point out that traditionally researchers used the positivist approach to research social science. Lee and Green (1995) assert that most of social science research still derives from an essentially positivist tradition (cited in Singh, 2000).

Central to the positivist tradition is the role of the researcher in the research process. According to Weber (cited in McNeil, 1989) social science ought to be value-free and politically neutral, that is, the researcher's values, beliefs and convictions ought not to influence the research process. Furthermore the researcher should not identify with the researched or have any past experience of that group. The experiences or emotions the researcher may have had whilst doing the research are then left behind. This means that the researcher should leave the research process unaffected by the experience. The withdrawal process according to Weber, is necessary to ensure an objective analysis and write-up of the findings (ibid).

The main thrust of traditional research is objectivity, that is, the researcher's feelings and experiences should not influence the processes of the data gathering, the interpretation and

analysis and the presentation of findings.

6.3.2. Feminist Critiques of Traditional Research Methodology

Feminist writers such as Stanley & Wise (1983), McGrath et al (in Oskamp & Costanzo, 1993) and Cohen et al (2001) find that the traditional research methodology to be largely incompatible with feminist theories and methodology.

The feminist writers criticise the TRM for several reasons. First, since the TRM frameworks are pre-chosen they allow only a particular reality to be seen and not reality for what it actually is. The fact that the feelings and emotions of the researcher and the researched are left out and the logical steps followed in the process render the research process to proceed in a glib and unproblematic manner. Second, the TRM is criticised for its quantitative approach, wherein to facilitate analysis, the responses are converted to numbers. The quantitative data do not convey in-depth understanding, emotions or feelings of the subjects. The numerical data convey little understanding of how, for example, a social problem emerges and how those affected by it feel. Third, the TRM is slated for its competitive and individual nature since it furthers the researcher's career instead of furthering the cause of the women and contributing to their emancipation (Stanley & Wise, 1983; Cohen et al, 2001). Fourth, positivist research serves a given set of power relations, which typically empowers the White male-dominated research community and silences the voices of the others - women included. The requirement for value-free and politically neutral research is a smokescreen that serves the existing, disempowering status quo (Cohen et al, 2001).

6.3.3. A Feminist Methodology

Feminists like Davies (in Burgess, 1985), Denzin and Lincoln (1989), Mies (1993), Haig (1999) and McGrath (in Oskamp & Costanzo, 1993) find mainstream/positivist methodology to be incompatible with doing research with women on women. They show preference for qualitative methods as if these are synonymous with feminist methodology and reject quantitative methods as if these are synonymous with positivist methodology. But, some feminists like Davies (in Burgess, 1985) and Jayaratne (cited in Cohen et al, 2001) find it more profitable to use both methods, to the extent that the quantitative data

serve to enhance the qualitative data.

Several methodological principles emerge from a rationale for feminist research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1989; Mies, 1993; Haig, 1999). Some of these are presented: the replacement of quantitative, positivist objective research with qualitative, interpretive ethnographic reflexive research; collaborative research to be undertaken by researcher and researched in reciprocal and non-hierarchical relationships; value-free, neutral indifferent and impartial research to be replaced by conscious, deliberate partiality - researchers to identify with participants; researchers and participants - perhaps through action research- to strive for women's emancipation.

Feminist research favours individualised studies for which small scale sampling is adequate. Methods such as biographies, case studies and life histories are used.(vide 6.3.4.)

Reinharz (1979) puts forward the method of experimental analysis. The main purpose of this approach is to convert the private concern into a public issue, which is in apposition to the feminist principle that the personal is also political. Experimental analysis is flexible, innovative and advocates a non-hierarchical relationship between the researcher and the researched. The researcher uses equipment such as the tape recorder to capture data, thus freeing her/him to communicate and participate in the research process. With the flexibility and innovation, experimental analysis works as a collection of interacting components rather than a series of pre-determined steps as the TRM requires. The researcher becomes involved in the research process and presents the research experience from her/his point of view.

Stanley and Wise (1983) point out that some problems have been raised with this approach. The first was that because the researcher is the sole interpreter of the research experience, there is the sample of one which is unrepresentative. The second problem is that this approach is limited since it focuses only on what the researcher directly experiences and so other knowledge is not obtained. The third criticism is that it resembles the way in which a book is written. It is fiction in the sense that it is one person's views arrived at through experience.

If the TRM is taken to mean the gathering of quantitative data and feminist methodology

of gleaning qualitative data, then the proposition made by Davies (in Burgess, 1985) and Jayaratne (cited in Cohen et al, 2001) seemed the most appropriate approach for the present study. Therefore, a combination of the two approaches was used to gather feminist data.

6.3.4. Research Methodology of this Study

The researcher used TRM until he realised that there was a burgeoning call for feminist methodology to be used to do research on women's lives. However, the researcher was influenced by a great extent by feminist researchers such as Singh (2000), Perumal (1985) and McNeil (1989). Moreover, his promoter pointed out to him the benefits of adopting a feminist approach in his research. For example, she advised him about being an active participant in the interview and adding his voice in the analysis and the write-up of the findings. The researcher thereupon decided to adopt a more feminist approach. However, the writer was hesitant to label this change as transformation for two reasons. First, the writer cannot and does not claim to speak with the same understanding and feelings as a woman would. This submission would partially support Stanley and Wise's (1983) assertion that men cannot do feminist research as they lack the consciousness that comes from everyday experience of being female (cited in McNeil, 1989). Davies (in Burgess, 1985) acknowledges the constraints placed on a man doing feminist research but concede that the research would benefit from things seen from a male perspective. Nevertheless, the researcher has accepted the feminist women's assertion as a challenge by attempting to become an participant in the interviews and feeling the way the women felt. Second, at the outset it was decided to use the TRM to do research with the women teachers. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were to be used so that the complex picture of women teachers' social world provided by the interviews could be counterbalanced by the potential for wider generalisation provided by the survey data (Riddel in Burgess, 1989; Huberman, 1993). Furthermore, Jayaratne (cited in Cohen et al, 2001) challenges feminist research for rejecting quantitative methods on ground that they neglect the emotions of the people they study. She suggests that there is a need for feminist quantitative data and methodologies in order to counter sexist quantitative data in the social sciences. With the insights gained from the feminists, the writer, therefore, pursued gathering of both quantitative and qualitative data.

When the proposed research methodology was discussed with campus colleagues, it was

suggested strongly that since the study concerns women teachers' lives it would be more appropriate to use methods such as life histories or case studies. (vide 6.3.3.) In the debate that ensued, it was pointed out that in a study which explored the lives of teachers on the social, cultural, political and economic dimensions a wide range of feminist issues were considered. Therefore, the issues or areas of concern were to be specified and directed to the women themselves in order to derive information to answer the critical questions. Furthermore it was argued that this is a pioneering study on women teachers in KZN province and that for such a baseline study it was more appropriate to go broad to enhance representativity and generalisability.

It was proposed to use the surveys and interviews to gather data. It was envisaged that the data captured via the one method would augment the other data. What this means is that whatever gaps were found in the survey data would be filled by the interview data and vice versa. Furthermore, it was envisaged that new themes/issues would emerge, as indeed did happen, in the interview and these would be developed. It was proposed that all of the data would be integrated and crystallised. The data would hence provide a composite picture of the lives of KZN women teachers.

The literature search revealed that no study on the lives of KZN women teachers and their work was undertaken previously; as such this study had to be cast broadly to obtain baseline data. As a pioneering study, on KZN women teachers, it was intended to focus on what happened in the past and what is happening presently, and predict what might happen in the future (Anderson, 1990). To present as complete a picture as possible, it was considered that a large body of data, both quantitative and qualitative, was needed. Therefore, three methods - the documentary research, the surveys and the interviews - were used to capture the data. The data related to the past were gathered mainly via documentary research and the surveys, and interviews were used to gather data about present and the future and to make links to the other data wherever possible.

6.3.4.1. The Documentary Research.

The context of the study dictated that the socio-cultural and historical perspectives of the KZN women teachers' education, training and conditions of work prior to 1994 be reviewed. The data presented in chapters 2, 3 and 4 could be classified as literature as well

as historical data. The process involved is an integrated part of the data collection, analysis and reporting (Anderson, 1990).

Both primary and secondary sources of historical and contemporary nature (Delamont, 1992) were consulted. Primary sources comprised Govt Gazettes, Statute Books, Reports, Minutes, newspaper articles, Memoirs, School Handbooks, the State Year Books etc; the secondary sources comprised books, theses, journals of education, teachers' journals, periodicals, school magazines and brochures etc.

Three major problems were encountered in documentary research. First, primary sources, especially the Govt publications were written from a White male perspective and there was little indication as to how Black men and women of all race groups were treated. Second, even the secondary sources reflected little on girls education in KZN. Two major works on Natal girls' education, on White girls by Vietzen (1980) and Indian girls by Rambiritch (1955), were found but these were limited by periodisation. (Vietzen's work covered the period 1850-1902 and Rambiritch's 1860-1955.) Third, although a large quantity of literature was found on the development of education in KZN, very little was found on Coloured education. When this problem was discussed with Dr Sylvia Vietzen¹, she suggested that people knowledgeable about Coloured education such as old Coloured educationists be interviewed to gather the necessary information. This suggestion confirmed Anderson's (1990) theory that data gathered in interviews could be incorporated into existing data. Thereupon relevant data were gathered in interviews with still practising and retired Coloured educationists. One such participant was a retired Rector of the Bechet College of Education. These participants' inputs proved very valuable to write-up a review on Coloured education. It has to be noted that this technique was used to fill the gaps in education literature reviews of all the historically designated race groups. (vide 6.3.4.3.)

Having established in Chapter 3 that teaching was feminised to a large extent, Chapter 4 was devised to provide a window to view the different Govt's treatment of women teachers. The search for this evidence was made difficult for two reasons: very little was written about women teachers; since 1910 much of the Govt documents were written for

¹ Vietzen, S, Dr : Retired Headmistress of Pietermaritzburg Girls' High School, author of *History of Education for European Girls in Natal, 1837-1902*, writes for historical and education journals and books.

each race groups with emphasis on the Whites. This chapter was considered very important because it provides insights into teachers as workers and the conditions under which they worked and are still working.

The writer was aware of some of the pitfalls in doing documentary research, in that all written records are socially produced with particular audience in mind and that biases accompany such writing (Delamont, 1992). A good example is the Eiselen Commission Report on Bantu Education (1953), which attempts to seduce the readers to accept the rationale behind the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The other major problems are the accuracy and authenticity of records such as newspapers, magazines etc (Giddens, 1993).

In spite of all this, the documentary research proved invaluable to this study. First, much of the information gleaned, was authentic; data from the primary sources such Govt documents were considered to be more credible (Anderson, 1990; Giddens, 1993). Second, the secondary sources provided valuable background information to contextualise the study; without this historical survey this study would have been inconceivable. Third, without the documentary research, it would not have been possible to gain insights into education from 1854 to 1994 via the surveys and interviews alone. Although, the interview method was used to gather data on Coloured education, the yield was not nearly adequate. Moreover, in Phase I of the Survey, a few of the younger teachers declined to participate as they had no knowledge of what teaching was like before 1994. Fourth, documentary research provided the researcher with some issues and themes on gender to be expanded.

Two major gaps were evident in the literature on education: the lack of gender perspectives and the imbalance created by Black groups not receiving due attention. Attempts were made to address these imbalances in the surveys and interviews. (vide chapters 7 and 8)

6.3.4.2. The Surveys

Considering the magnitude of the study, the Questionnaire surveys appeared to be the most appropriate methods of collecting a large amount of data from a sizeable sample of the women teacher population in KZN province. Apart from the large scale data collection the

questionnaire surveys appeared to be the most cost-effective and the quickest way of collecting these data (Giddens, 1993; Anderson, 1990).

The context for the surveys was set largely by the socio-cultural and historical research, reflected in chapters 2 to 4, the previous study, the concerns of SADTU Women's Group and feminist literature. With these insights, the researcher constructed what was initially considered a good measuring instrument. It purported to gather data on the KZN women teachers in three categories: biographical details employment history; and opinion survey about their whole lives (working lives and private lives). (cf App E). Thirty-nine questions were included; thirty-four were close-ended for ease of completion of the questionnaire and four open-ended questions. The writer was aware of the dangers attendant upon data derived from close-ended questions, that they could be construed as being absolute knowledge (truth) (Inglis et al, 2000). Therefore, in addition to the open-ended questions, fifteen of the multiple choice questions had provisions for explanations and other inputs. The questionnaire was considered to be comprehensive enough to glean adequate data from 400 women about aspects of their life as teachers.

The draft questionnaire was given to six Doctoral women students at UDW to critique and make inputs. Most of them indicated that they were fascinated by the content of the questionnaire but they had concerns about the nature of some of the questions (e.g. double-barrelled questions) and the wording of a few of them. The major criticism made by all the students was the length of the questionnaire. They were concerned that the respondents might be reluctant to complete it. The questionnaire was altered in the light of the students criticisms and inputs. The improved questionnaire was then given to the two Co-ordinators of the Doctoral programme at UDW². Both were of the opinion that the questionnaire was still too long and that to sharpen the focus with the critical questions in mind, the questions had to be restructured. There were the issues of relevance and appropriateness of certain questions. For example, in one of the earlier Doctoral Seminar sessions, female participant angrily rejected the question: Does marriage interfere with your work as a teacher as being irrelevant in this and age?. She argued that if she were asked the question she would refuse to answer. Now this reaction from a senior member of School of Educational Studies could be easily gainsaid. This distressed the researcher as

² Drs Vithal, R. and Samuel, M. are the presently the two Co-ordinators of the Doctoral Programme in the School of Educational Studies at UDW.

he believed through his orientation to women teachers' issues that marriage and work was one of the crucial issues that had to be included in the study. The problem was discussed with the archivist at Killie Campbell Africana Library (UND)³.

This woman understood the writer's despondence but was quick to point out that the woman academic's hostile attitude actually shows the importance of your research. Her input partly vindicated the need for such themes and restored the researcher's faith in the study. The next problem to solve was the relevance of some of the questions. The dilemma was what to include and what not to. Thereupon, the researcher consulted with a leading expert in the field of research instrument design⁴.

The consultant's pointed question was : What is it that you want to know from the women teachers? In a nutshell, the answer was : What was teaching and teachers' lives like before 1994, what is it like now and what is it likely to be in the future?. It was decided that the researcher approach the women themselves and ask them about it, thus opting for what many researchers call the generative grounded field research (Beard, 2000; Landman, 1992; Goodson, 1992). The data generated by this approach had to be analysed and possible themes and issues that emerged had be included in the construction of the questionnaire (Beard, 2000).

Thereupon, the researcher embarked on Phase I of the survey. A small sample of 35 women, 10 Indians, 10 Whites, 10 Africans and 5 Coloureds, were approached. Selection in respect of the Coloured respondents was done on the basis of Proportional Allocation Sampling because at the time it was considered proportional to the small number of that group in KZN (Wiersma, 1980). Four schools were visited in Tongaat and Durban and at each school the Principal or the HOD selected the participants. Each participant was given a letter-like questionnaire (cf App D) with six open-ended questions to answer. The researcher appealed to the respondents to feel free to write as much as possible on whatever was close to their hearts in response to each question. The return rate was 34, a considerable rate - 9 Whites, 5 Coloureds, 10 Indians and 10 Africans. The content was carefully studied, analysed and the dominant themes that emerged were coded. The

³ Ms Bobby Elridge is presently the archivist at Killie Campbell Africana Library (UND), who advises and assists the researcher in times of crises.

⁴ Dr Beard, P.G.N., is an education consultant, based at ICESA, Durban, a long time confidant and mentor to the researcher.

findings of the research are presented in Phase I of the survey, in the form of tables, graphs and narratives. (cf chapter 7).

The conclusion drawn from this survey was that the issues and themes that emerged were very similar to those raised in the initial survey instrument. This small scale investigation helped to strengthen the context of the study, thereby preparing the ground to develop the larger picture.

In the writer's judgment these similarities validated the design of the original instrument. For example, the length of the questionnaire was reduced from 15 to 7 pages; by replacing some of the close-ended questions with open-ended ones, the questions were reduced from 39 to 22; some of the questions (about marriage, multiple roles etc.) which appeared repetitious were omitted here and included in the interview schedule.

When the questionnaire was approved and printed, the problem was how and to whom were they to be distributed. As will be discussed later, the SGBs were not too responsive to the researcher's appeal for permission to conduct the research at their schools. The researcher took upon himself to visit the schools and personally distribute the questionnaires. He visited forty schools and one Regional Learning Centre (RLC) at Empangeni run by the University of Natal.(cf App G) With a hat-in-the-hand approach he coaxed all but two (White) schools to participate. Incidentally, the two school principals who declined had initially agreed to participate. They cited the pressure of work in this period (October-November) as reasons for their refusal. (vide 6.4.2., Case 2.) Nevertheless, thirty-eight schools, 20 primary and 18 secondary and the Empangeni RLC participated. The schools were selected on the lines of the Snowball Sampling (Cohen et al, 2001). When School A was visited, the researcher was directed to another school (School B) in vicinity which the Director considered might be interested in participating. This process continued until the Quota Sampling (Cohen et al, 2001) for each race group was completed.

Four hundred questionnaires were distributed, 100 to each race group on the basis of Equal Allocation Sampling (Wiersma, 1980).The distribution was sub-divided : 50 to primary teachers and 50 to secondary teachers on a Stratified Random Sampling basis (Anderson,

1990). This approach was particularly desirable as part of the research framework reflects an interest in the differences among the race groups and the school systems. A sample of 400 women was considered adequate to yield data with more general significance, that is, with the potential to be analysed in ways allowing for generalisation to a wider population (Huberman, 1993). But, it could be argued that the sample does not reflect the demographics of KZN, for example, a sample of 100 African women is not adequate considering numerical stature of that group. The argument could be valid. In fact, it was proposed to study a sample of 500 women, which would comprise 200 Africans - 100 from the DET schools and 100 from the KZDEC schools. But identifying and accessing the KZDEC schools proved difficult as most them were located in the reserves. Therefore, for logistical reasons the division of the African schools was rescinded and the sample size was reduced to 100, in line with the other race groups. Other deciding factors to use Equal Allocation Sampling (Wiersma, 1980) were the accessibility to that group and the real potential for low returns. Furthermore, it was considered that data from the documentary research and interviews would augment the data.

The selected schools were situated along the KZN coast from Port Shepstone to Empangeni and they were clustered in Durban, Amanzimtoti, Port Shepstone, Tongaat, Stanger and around Empangeni. At the last three centres, semi-urban and rural schools were also selected. As most of the schools were built in urban and semi-urban areas, the sample was considered to be reasonably representative of the school teacher population of KZN.

The principals or the co-ordinators were thoroughly briefed about the aims and purpose of the study and the rules pertaining to the completion of the questionnaire. The principals decided on the number of teachers who would participate at their schools and copies were left at the schools accordingly. When the quota of questionnaires for each race group was distributed, the process ceased. The return-date was, in every case, set at fourteen days from the date thereof. On the appointed dates, the researcher revisited the schools to collect the completed questionnaires. The schools whose return rate was low or zero, were contacted by telephone three times in one week intervals. If more returns were forthcoming they were revisited; if not the schools were abandoned. No losses of questionnaires were reported and no requests for additional copies were received from the schools. When the returns were saturated, the Phase II survey was ceased. The overall

return rate was 279 out of 400 (69.75 percent), which exceeded the minimum requirement of 65 percent acceptable for representativity (Anderson, 1990). However, the returns from the historically African and White schools in both primary and secondary categories did not satisfy this requirement as their rates were 55 percent and 57 percent respectively. There were zero returns from three schools, one White primary, one African primary and one African secondary. (cf App G) The relatively low returns from the two race groups raises a few questions about these teachers' experiences, knowledge and attitudes. The writer tutors mainly African students on the Bachelors of Education (Hons) degree at the University of Natal and he is aware of the disadvantages and limitations placed on the African teachers in so far as the use of the English language and their experiences as researchers are concerned. It is therefore, presumed that these were crucial factors for the low returns and the non-completion of parts of the questionnaire. In the case of the Whites, the writer could only cite a negative attitude to research as a reason for the low return. This problem is discussed later. (vide 6.4.2.) Problems surfaced when the returns were analysed on the basis of the school categories as they did not comply with the 65 percent minimum (Anderson, 1990). A more serious problem was the very low returns from the African secondary schools. Nonetheless, the 38 percent return rate was accepted in the circumstances for two reasons : 1) there was no certainty that finding new respondents was going to solve the problem; 2) the focus of the study was set more on race or culture than school categories.

All in all, an overall return rate of 69.75 percent was passed as excellent by many of the writer's Doctoral colleagues, considering the unstable and unfavourable conditions for research presently prevailing at the schools.

The responses to the tabular response questions and the multiple choice questions in Phase II of the survey was presented in tabular form so that the quantitative data could be analysed and interpreted. The patterns that emerged therefrom were then turned into qualitative using narratives. Wherever necessary and possible cross-tabulation was made to correlate or compare data on the women of the four race groups. These correlations and comparisons proved valuable to confirm or disconfirm certain issues such as the Black women's complaints about the triple oppression they suffer which has strong racial overtones.

There were a few shortcomings in the use of the surveys to gather data. The two major limitations were low returns from African and Whites schools and the non-completion of certain questions, especially by the Africans and Whites. Some did not explain certain points adequately when these were asked for. It was planned at the outset that all such shortcomings and any other issues that might emerge would be addressed in the interviews that followed.

6.3.4.3. The Interviews

Two sets of interviews were conducted. The first set consisted of interviews with Coloured educationists on the history of Coloured Education in KZN province and the other of conversations with practising women teachers.

6.3.4.3.1. Interviews with Coloured Educationists

These interviews undertaken to augment the historical data on Coloured Education in chapters 1 and 2. were conducted in the traditional mode. The main reason for this approach was that the required data was not on the lived experiences of the target population but about people of a bygone era. Therefore, elite individuals who had particular knowledge about Coloured Education were selected to be interviewed. The process could belong in the tradition of oral history (Giddens, 1993; Anderson, 1990; Delamont, 1992).

This historical research was conducted in Durban's historically Coloured residential areas of Merewent, Sydenham and Greenwood Park. The target population was the Coloured educationists. A small sample of seven Coloured educationists were identified and selected for interviews. This process resembled the Snowball Effect. Initially, the researcher contacted a university colleague for assistance. She introduced him to her spouse who was the retired rector of Bechet College of Education in Sydenham. After the interview, the respondent introduced the researcher to a retired School Psychologist and he introduced him to a female colleague and so process continued until seven elite educationists were interviewed. The sample comprised three males - a retired Rector of the Bechet College of Education, a retired School Psychologist and the Chief Executive Officer of Apek - and four females - two principals (one retired), a retired School

Psychologist and a deputy principal. Two retired SOE's declined to be interviewed because of the lack of free time. All the retired educationists were interviewed at their homes and the other three in their offices at their workplace. There was no disturbance during the interviews. The interviews were terminated when it was realised that no new information was being generated, hence the small sample.

As these were elite interviews and because of the stature of the respondents in the Coloured community and their profession, no other personal details seemed necessary. As with an elite interview with some high profile personality, relatively few planned and written questions were necessary (Cohen et al, 2001; Anderson, 1990). Using the insights gained in the documentary research especially on Indian, African and White education, the respondents were asked a few general questions on the education of Coloured girl children and the training of Coloured women teachers. The questions were open-ended and largely unstructured to allow for free conversation. The interviewer interposed with prompts when there was need for clarity or direction. The process was demanding on the interviewer as he had to listen, prompt and record pertinent points at the same time. The recording of the information in point form was time consuming and it slowed down the process. Nevertheless, these thumb notes proved very useful when the interviews were reviewed with respondents and again when the researcher reflected upon the interviews and wrote up more comprehensive summaries at leisure (Delamont, 1992). A few of the respondents were contacted telephonically to clarify certain matter when the write-up of the summaries was done.

Although the sample was too small for anything but an impressionistic observation, the data gathered in the interview proved valuable to flesh out the skeleton data yielded by the documentary research and the Phase I survey. The anecdotal evidence provided by some of the older respondents enriched the data on Coloured Education as a whole. Furthermore, the interview data served to confirm and correct some of the biases in documentary data (Anderson, 1990). For example, according to documentary evidence, pupil-teachers, here and in Britain, were paid a small salary for teaching but a very old retired principal, who was a pupil-teacher while she was in mission school, informed the researcher that she was not paid.

All in all, the interviews were valuable in that they helped to enrich the broad outline

presented in the historical literature. Although much of the interview data resembled data from the documentary research, they nevertheless served to consolidate the information on Coloured Education in KZN.

6.3.4.3.2. Conversations with Women Teachers

Initially, it was planned to use the interviews to gather data to fill the gaps left by the documentary research and the surveys. The gaps did not only mean the lack of information but also the gaps in the understanding of the issues on hand (Giddens, 1993). It was also envisaged that new issues and themes would emerge from the interviews. All of these did indeed, happen. But, equally enriching as the data was the encounter with the women teachers - the opportunity to see how the woman feel about their work, to talk about their private lives and then to feel with them as researcher was a different experience (McGrath et al in Oskamp & Costanzo, 1993). In the other phases of the research the women appeared shadowy figures with whom the researcher had no contact but in the interviews he met them in flesh and blood, wherein the data gathering was far more meaningful (Anderson, 1990; Goodson, 1992).

Originally, the interviews were to be conducted on an impersonal level, in that the researcher was to stand out of the interview and view the text of the conversation from the outside for objectivity. However, the writer soon realised through the influences of his promoter Dr Sue Singh (2000) and other feminist writers such as Perumal (1989) and McNeil (1989) that the researcher will not be as successful in understanding the private lives of women teachers as a detached observers (Goodson, 1992; Delamont, 1992). Therefore, the researcher decided to identify with the participants and become one of them, like the participant observer does (Singh, 2000; McGrath et al in Oskamp & Costanzo, 1993). This meant that the researcher had to depart from the traditional interview paradigm (ibid). The boundaries between the researcher and the participants had to be severed to minimise the status differences. This meant that ideas and meanings could more easily be shared through free conversation between interviewer and respondent. However, the researcher does not claim to have had as much success as Sue Singh in her interviews (Singh, 2000; Delamont, 1992). There were probably three reasons for the partial failure. Firstly, although the researcher confessed to the women that he was concerned about women teachers' issues because his wife was also a teacher and he

shared her experiences, there was still a barrier. The statuses were not the same. The women were practising teachers and the writer was a retired teacher researching for a degree that neither interested nor would profit them. Secondly, the fact that the researcher is a man doing research on women's issues might have inhibited the women in their responses. A case point is the complaint about the failure of men to share household chores. When the women were interrogated about their husbands' attitude they merely eluded the point saying: *You know what men are!* Whereas some of them went hammer and tongs for men, most of them did not condemn the men. The researcher has a hunch that the women were inhibited because he knows how vociferous women can be in other forums or circumstances. Thirdly, the race of the researcher (being an Indian in the first instance and a Black in the next) appears to have had an influence on the kind of responses. For example, only one of the four White women conceded that most of the White women teachers derived satisfaction from teaching because they taught in historically privileged schools. Moreover not one of the Whites said anything negative about the affirmative action in the interviews although a significant number indicated in the surveys that they were disadvantaged. Fourthly, some women showed a distinct inclination to maintain the traditional barrier between interviewer and respondent by not divulging too much about their personal lives. While most of these women generally avoided talking too freely when the conversation got dangerously close to their personal lives, one Coloured woman came close to outright rudeness. (vide 6.4.2., Case 1) These women's attempt at retaining the boundaries between the public and private unwittingly somewhat marred the attempt at making the personal political (Goodson, 1992).

On the other hand, this approach was not without its rewards. The researcher was more successful in identifying and establishing a better rapport with some of the teachers especially the Black women. There developed such a measure of intimacy and trust that the women voluntarily and openly discussed private matters such as sexuality and the sexual practices of single mothers. These conversations provided some insights into matters such as having children out of wedlock, that would normally have been condemned off-hand as promiscuity. It was in these discussions that the socio-cultural and economic conditions of the women teachers were delved into and illuminated; themes such as single parenthood, polygamy, concubinage, teaching for bread etc surfaced and these were developed in subsequent conversations. It is asserted that these conversations were a two-way learning process, because while the researcher learnt about the women's

conditions from them, he, with his somewhat expert knowledge on teachers' issues, also informed them about certain aspects of their work and conditions of service, they were unaware of. For example, none of the married women knew that in the old tax regime they were robbed of their identities of income earners and taxpayers because their incomes were deemed to be the income of their spouses in terms of the double-taxation rules. This bit of information was significant to the women who wanted identities of their own.

To gather qualitative data via interviews it was proposed to interview 20 teachers (5 each from the Indian, African, Coloured and White race groups) and 20 officials of the KZNDEC (10 men and 10 women). The proposal to include the officials was rescinded when it was realised that it would very difficult to get volunteers and other logistical problems would emerge. Moreover, it seemed more appropriate and expedient to restrict the study at this stage to teacher perspectives. (The KZNDEC's Co-ordinator of School Governance (see below) was a school-based educator when the network of potential interviewees was established). The teacher samples were reduced from 5 to 4 to facilitate Equal Allocation Sampling (Wiersma, 1980).

As in the Phase II survey, respondents for the interviews were selected on an equal sample basis. Sixteen women teachers, four from each of the historically designated race groups, were selected. Further, in each race group, two were selected from primary schools and two from secondary schools on the basis of Equal Allocation Sampling (ibid). The women's age ranged from 32 to 55 years and their teaching service ranged from 10 to 34 years. All 16 of them were professionally qualified teachers with a minimum of M+3 qualification. Ten of the women were graduates, of whom five had two or more degrees. Seven of them were studying for further degrees or diplomas but the others were not interested because of the lack of incentives. Their work statuses were as follow: two were Principals, one Deputy Principal, two HODs, one Regional Co-ordinator of School Governance (KZNDEC) and ten Level 1 Educators teaching from Gr 1 to Gr 12. Eleven of the women were married, one was widowed, one divorced and three unmarried. All the women, except one spinster had children.

Identification of volunteer interviewees was done by informal and formal approaches. Informally, the researcher identified respondents through his teaching network, three Indians, one African, one Coloured and one White who volunteered to participate. Of

these respondents four (one from each race group) were from Pietermaritzburg. Of the other twelve respondents, two (1 White and 1 Indian) were from Stanger, two Indians from Umzinto and two Whites and one Indian and three Africans from Durban. Using the list of KZNDEC Schools, the principals were formally approached to identify ten more volunteers (1 Indian, three Africans, three Coloureds and three Whites). Three principals (one Indian, one White and one African) and one Coloured Deputy principal, volunteered of their own accord to be interviewed. The other respondents were selected by the principals and the interviews were arranged by the principals to take place during school hours but outside teaching time. The researcher had to telephone principals to confirm the date and time. Three White schools had to be abandoned because the arrangements failed and alternate schools were sought. Even one of the informally sought respondents reneged on her promise. (vide 6.4.2., Case 3) In fact the informal approach was an expedient to overcome the problems inherent in the formal approach. All in all, the informal arrangements were more advantageous in at least three respects: the meeting took place at the homes of the respondents in more relaxed atmosphere; as the interviews were held outside school time there was less stress; the respondents spoke more freely, some using colloquial language to vent their feelings.

The interviews were conducted using a carefully planned interview schedule. The schedule was designed to collect a small amount of normative data pertaining to the respondents' biographical/work particulars and included open-ended questions to obtain elite-type information on aspects of more personal and conceptual perspectives (Anderson, 1990). As the collection of information in the second part of the interview resembled elitist interviews, it was decided to have relatively few planned and written questions (ibid). Initially, only six questions on the burning issues emanating from the literature and the surveys were embedded in open-ended questions. With the experience gained in Doctoral Seminars, the researchers was on the guard not to offend respondents and turn them hostile. Therefore questions on touchy issues such as marriage, divorce and single parenthood were couched in inoffensive language. (cf App F). In large measure, these questions were meant to be semi-structured, in that the respondents were allowed to talk freely with the researcher interposing with prompters to elicit as many views and as much information as possible on each issue. The problems with this type of questioning were the time factor and controlling the discussion placing much stress on the interviewer (Cohen et al, 2001). However, the yield was tremendous. Not only were murky aspects

clarified but other issues were expanded and developed, and new issues and themes that emerged from the conversations were included in the schedule.

The researcher was aware that the major difficulty with the semi-structured interviews is the recording and tabulating of the answers (ibid). Therefore as contingency measure, he was equipped with an audio-tape recorder. Before each conversation, permission was sought from the respondents to record the interview, pointing out the need for it. Five of the women, one Coloured (deputy principal), one Indian (principal) and three Africans (one a principal and two L1 Educators) were suspicious about recording the interviews but all of them consented after being assured that the data will be used for academic purposes only and that their anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed. Thereupon all of them talked freely, except the African principal, who tended to be too circumspect. Three women (the Coloured deputy principal, the African principal and the White principal) previewed the questions before the commencement of the interviews. Most of the conversations proceeded without interruptions except the changing the side of the tape. Only the Coloured deputy principal was interrupted twice by her students and one Indian woman in Merebank by her baby son who was awakened by an aeroplane flying over the house. These interruptions were brief and of no consequence. The researcher made little field notes in a reflective diary. The notes pertained mainly to the respondents' biographical details, their striking characteristics and some information on whether they helped to make the sessions work or not. Apart from this, the researcher had to rely very heavily on the audio-tape recording to capture data accurately.

After the interviews, the audio-tapes were labelled using first names only of the respondents and the dates. Each tape was numbered according to the date of the interview. No other identification was available to the unsuspecting eye. Nothing pertaining to the content of the interview was recorded. The tapes were transcribed by two male transcribers from UND who had absolutely no knowledge of who the respondents were. (Both of them intimated to the researcher that they had learnt quite a lot about women teachers in the process of transcribing the tapes.) The tapes were reviewed in conjunction with the transcripts as test for accuracy. There was one major discrepancy where side two of one tape was omitted; this was corrected by the transcriber concerned but the minor discrepancies, of which there were several, were corrected by the researcher. Overall, there was no loss or distortion of data.

In the process of analysis the researcher grouped the data according to themes. In the coding process, new concepts were derived from the data inductively. The data were presented in a narrative style, aimed at reflecting on the major concerns of the study. The writer was aware that the interview data could not stand on their own; that they had to be anchored to established data from literature and/or findings of other studies. Therefore, the data were linked to the data derived from the surveys, documentary literature and the review of feminist literature (Harley et al, 1999).

This set of interviews was conceived to collect qualitative data on the lived experiences of the teachers in the traditional mode to augment the survey data. But in the course of this part of the research it became compelling to change to a feminist mode. Although a large number of the issues canvassed were spin-offs from the surveys the data from the interviews took on identities of their own and therefore they were presented separately in Chapter 7.

6.4. No Pain, No Gain.

The research was undertaken in the most volatile period in the history of education in South Africa. Attempts were being made to transform Apartheid education into a system where there was more equity and/or fairness. The researcher was aware of the many problems the teachers were experiencing in the transition period as he was a practising teacher until 30 April 1997, when the largest number of teachers left the service. When he returned to the schools about 18 months later to do research, he discovered that the status of the teacher was eroded and in 2000 when Phase II of the surveys was conducted, the teacher morale appeared to be at the lowest ebb. It seemed that it was just not the time to do school-based research. Psychologically, the teachers were not in the right frame of mind and research appeared to be furthest from their minds. The researcher knew about the torments and frustrations the KZNDEC's R & R policies were causing the teachers but he could not abandon them as they remained the ONLY subjects he could study. Paradoxically, it seemed the right time to target the teachers to see what they candidly felt about the conditions under which they worked. To break through this psychological barrier, the researcher decided to adopt a hat-in-the-hand approach to gain access to schools and coax the principals and teachers to participate in the research. There were

several disappointments but it is considered that in the end the research was successful in so far as gathering of data was concerned.

6.4.1. Gaining Access

6.4.1.1. Initial Attempt

A letter seeking permission to conduct the research in selected KZN schools was sent to the KZN Provincial Minister of Education. (cf App A). The Honourable Minister replied indicating that it was not in his power to grant such permission and suggested that the School Governing Bodies (SGBs) of the individual schools be approached. (cf App B).

Thereupon, letters of request were sent to 73 schools along the coastal belt of KZN from Empangeni to Port Shepstone, and Pietermaritzburg in the west. (cf App C) Only 11 schools replied, 8 granting permission and 3 refusing it. Letters were sent a second time round to 25 schools. This time only 3 schools responded, one in writing and two telephonically, all three granting permission.

6.4.1.2. An Alternate Approach Sought

As only 11 schools were willing to participate in the research, it was considered that these schools would not yield an adequate sample size for the study. Moreover, this adequacy was worsened as none of the historically Coloured and African schools responded. Therefore, the researcher decided to use what could be termed the agent system. The researcher identified a number of students in the Masters and Doctoral Programmes in the School of Education Studies at UDW, who were to act as agents at schools, either to liaise with the principals to facilitate the conduct of the research or themselves to identify the participants. Every effort was made to select agents from all four race groups. The prognosis of the agent system was that it was going to yield limited success.

Thereupon, the researcher took it upon himself to visit the schools himself. Of the 49 schools that formally participated in the research, the researchers visited 44 schools, either to administer the questionnaire or interview the teachers and principals; the other 5 schools were serviced by the agents. The researcher targeted the schools by the method that

resembles the Snowball Effect, whereby when he visited School A, it merely directed him to a school that might be willing to participate. In this manner, a network of participating schools was established.

6.4.2. The Power Play between Researcher and Researched

The very nature of the research dictated that feminist methodology be adopted to do research with the women teachers. Although the writer did his utmost to create the situations where the researcher and the researched were on the same plane, there were instances when consciously or inadvertently power was used by one or the other. There were instances of tension, fear, threat, outright rudeness or hostility, etc. The researcher admits to have been somewhat pedantic at times in that he exhibited his superior knowledge of the issues involved, but this was inadvertently done in course of creating the context for research or purely to inform the respondents. On the other hand, there were several instances where the subjects exerted their power over the researcher. A few of the very striking ones are recounted hereunder.

Case 1 : Mary, a Coloured woman was interviewed to create oral history of Coloured education. Being an unstructured interview, the following question was fielded: Is Mr.....also a teacher? The curt response was: We are supposed to be discussing Coloured education and not my personal life. It was obvious that the respondent felt the researcher was infringing on her privacy. But the purpose of this question was to establish if the social behavioural pattern, that is, people of same profession get married either for status or compatibility (quite characteristic of the Indian community),prevailed in the Coloured community. This means that in the study of teachers' lives the boundaries between the public and the private often gets blurred (Goodson, 1992). The researcher is, therefore, unrepentant and still maintains the question was pertinent to illuminate the study. However, in face of adversity, the question was abandoned and the interview continued yielding useful data.

Case 2 : Three principals refused the researcher access to their teachers when Survey II was administered in October-November 2000. Lesley, a Coloured male, exercised the rule of protocol (demanding a letter of permission) in spite of the researcher' s hat-in-approach.

Melvin and Elaine, a White male and a White female, who had initially granted permission, refused on the grounds that their teachers were busy preparing examination papers etc. They pointed out, further, that their permission was valid up to June 2000. The researcher explained to them that the delay due to problems encountered in the production of the Questionnaire. The male principal showed no sympathy but the female was prepared to accommodate the researcher in the new year (2001). All three schools were abandoned. The approximate distance travelled to the three schools was 270 km.

Case 3 : Two women refused to be interviewed after the researcher met them at the rendezvous. Bhanmathy, an Indian divorcee and single parent, refused after previewing the questions. Asked for reasons, she said that her divorce was a traumatic experience and she didn't want to open up old wounds. The second, Bertha, a White woman, selected by the Deputy Principal, refused to be interviewed when the researcher arrived at the school at the appointed time. After being briefed on what the research was about, she said: I don't want to be quoted. Thereupon, the researcher assured her that the data would be used strictly for academic purposes. To this she retorted: You'll be amazed at what academics can do. Quite frankly, I don't want to be interviewed. The researcher construed this attitude as the distrust of academics. The feelings of both women were respected and they were abandoned. The approximate distance travelled to the two rendezvous was 280km.

Case 4 : In Interview II, the power play was subtle and, upon reflection it was discovered that it was largely unsuspectingly played. The interviews were largely semi-structured and unstructured. When questions were asked about their school life and whole life, most women spoke very freely, quite unsuspectingly about their private lives. All the White women, one Coloured and one Indian were sharp to discern the blur between the public and the private. While they steered carefully, none of them objected to any questions. The researcher was not unmindful that interviews had not to lose focus and the free talkers had to be directed using prompts. In this respect, power was used to the extent that it would invite criticism that the researcher deliberately manipulated the interviews. But at the same time, one needs to have cognisance of the fact that the interviews had to yield qualitative data adequately suitable to solve a specific set of problems.

Case 5 : Four White secondary school teachers showed their power in the completion the

questionnaire (Phase II survey). The one changed the wording of question 9 (vide Appendix E p.2.), thus : For how long have you been teaching? The writer does not object to being corrected. However, he feels that the new version of the question could mislead the reader as it implies that the respondent is not practising as a teacher anymore. The writer, therefore remains unconvinced that his version is ambiguous.

Two of the other three women found question 4 (cf App E, p.5.) ambiguous and one said that it does not make sense. One of those who cited ambiguity abandoned the question. She ringed the words improved and diminished and asked Which? Upon introspection, the writer concluded that the question can be construed as being double-barrelled. From this perspective, the three women have convinced the researcher that it is an unsatisfactory question that needs to be reworked. Paradoxically, the saving grace for the question is that a large number of the 279 participants answered the question satisfactorily.

6.5. Sweet Success in the End

In total 339 persons (334 women and 3 men) were studied in the surveys and interviews to gather both qualitative and quantitative data. When these data were combined with the data from the documentary research and literature they constituted a very good yield to conclude the study. This success is considered sweet especially after doing the fieldwork in such difficult conditions.

6.6. Analysis of data

The data gathered via the three methods described above were analysed and interpreted using a process of crystallization. This method of data analysis was preferred to the triangulation technique as Richard (1998:358) argues that a 'Fixed point' or 'object' is triangulated but validating postmodernist 'mixed-genre texts' requires analysis which extends beyond triangulation of a 'fixed two-dimensional object'. The crystallization process, therefore, allowed for 'deepened' understanding of the women teachers' issues and thereby provided the opportunity for the researcher to add his 'voice' to the description of the data.

6.7. Conclusion

This chapter has made the writer reflect on the methods he used to conduct the research, the problems he encountered and the changes he had to make in the course of the research. Four major problems had to be resolved.

First, the schools showed little interest in the research. To get participants was an uphill climb but, eventually, this was managed fairly successfully, considering the volatile situation at schools.

Second, the researcher had proposed to use the questionnaire and interview methods to gather both qualitative and quantitative data in order to write a descriptive narrative on the lives of the KZN women teachers. When it was discovered little information on the women teachers was available, these steps in the process were duplicated to gather additional data.

Third, although the study was approached from a feminist perspective since its inception, the researcher had proposed to use traditional positivist methodology to do the research. But as the study progressed the writer found it compelling to use feminist methodology. In mid-stream he was faced with a dilemma - what to do with the data from traditional surveys and the data from the interviews, which largely resembled a feminist method. One solution was to marry the two kinds of data in the process of presenting the findings (Jayaratne, cited in Cohen et al, 2001; McGrath et al in Oskamp & Costanzo, 1993).

Fourth, there was a paucity of information on KZN women teachers. The problem presented itself to be so serious that it became extremely necessary to turn the literature review on the KZN girl children's education, teacher training and teachers' conditions of service into data.

It is believed that the different methods used yielded a large amount of data which present a fairly rounded picture of the KZN women teachers. Chapters 7 and 8 will reflect how much fruit the labour described in this chapter bore. Chapter 7 presents qualitative and quantitative data gathered in the two surveys.

CHAPTER 7

Analysis and Interpretation of Survey Data

7.1. Introduction

Chapters 1, 2 and 3, presented a social, cultural, historical, political and economic narrative of women teachers' education and training and the conditions under which they worked in KZN. But the picture that emerged from the relevant literature is unclear and in many ways distorted because little was written from women's perspectives. Much of the literature on education in South Africa, especially the government documents, emanated from a White male perspective, very little, if at all, explores the social, cultural, historical political and economic conditions of women teachers. Therefore, the quantitative and qualitative data collected through Survey I and Survey II are presented as an attempt to bridge the gap. A detailed description of how the two survey instruments were planned, designed and implemented was presented in chapter 6.

In this chapter, data collected in the two phases of the fieldwork are presented in two parts. The first part comprises the highlights of the data gleaned from 34 participants in Survey I, which constituted the pilot study. The data from Survey I focused on what the conditions of work were like in the past, what they are like now and what they should be (or likely to be) in the future. The high frequency themes and concepts that emerged from qualitative data were noted and questions crafted from these were included in the questionnaire for Survey II. In the second part, data collected in Survey II are presented. The focus of the expanded data is on present day issues affecting the lives of 279 women teachers. In both the surveys, the responses focus on issues such as the low status of teachers and the teaching profession, the tough conditions under which teachers work, the insecure, unstable and sometimes unsafe work environment, the inadequate salaries and other remunerations and the diminishing service benefits, the general lack of motivation and opportunities, and the low teacher morale.

The tables and graphs in this chapter reflect frequencies but the discussion that follows each table or graph reflects the corresponding percentages.

7.2 Presentation of Data and their Interpretation

Part I

Various themes or concepts emerged from the questions fielded in letter-type questionnaire (Appendix D). Issues that recurred at a fairly high frequency are included.

I. *Positive Aspects of Teaching in Apartheid South Africa.*

Table 7.1.

ISSUE CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
A	Teaching and learning took place in a safe and stable environment
B	Teaching was more effective and examination results more reliable
C	The Departments of Education were structured and organised resulting in good administration and stability.
D	The status and morale of teachers were high
E	The teachers derived much satisfaction from their job.
F	The teachers, especially married women, enjoyed more job security and stability

Figure 7.1 Positive Aspects of Teaching in Apartheid South Africa

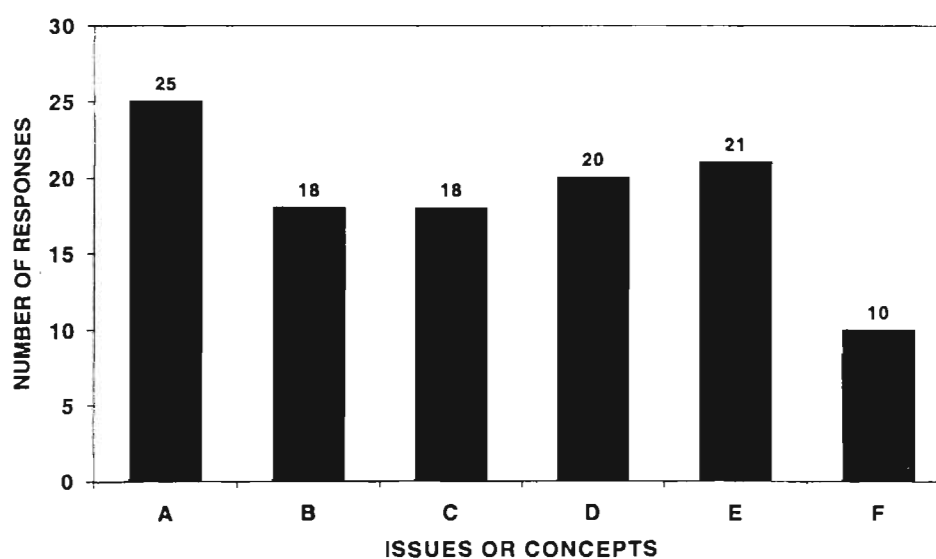


Figure 7.1. reflects that 73.5 percent of the respondents believed that they worked in a safe and stable environment; 52.9 percent indicated that the administration of education was efficient, teaching was effective and the examination results were more reliable; 58.8 percent claimed that the teachers' status

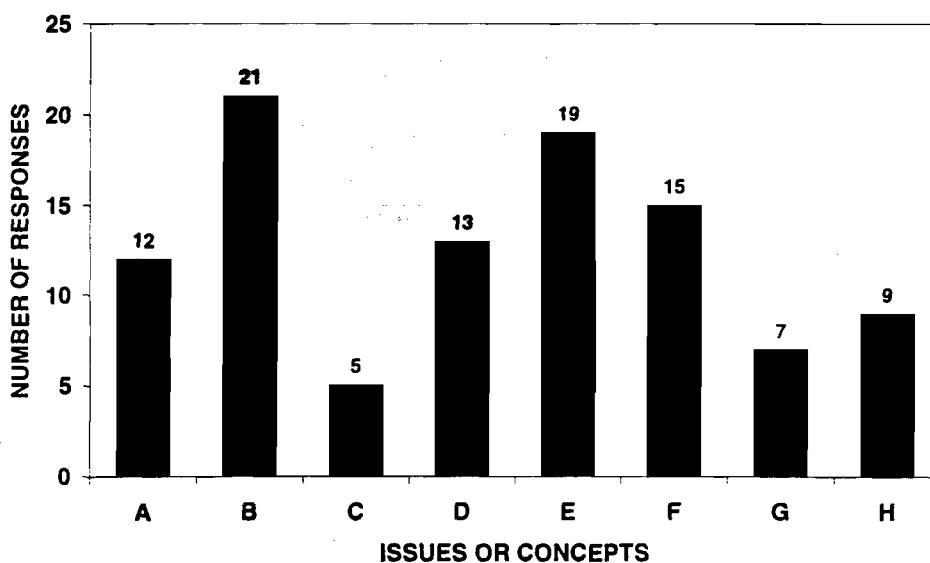
and morale were high; 67.7 percent said they derived satisfaction from teaching; 29.4 percent said that the married women had relatively more stable and secure jobs.

2. *Negative Aspects of Teaching in Apartheid South Africa.*

Table 7.2.

ISSUE CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
A	Teachers lived in racial cocoons, unable to mix and share ideas on education
B	Patriarchy went largely unchallenged; women obeyed blindly
C	Bureaucracy was rigid, too much red tape
D	There was little scope for advancement in respect of qualifications, promotions and merit awards - the appraisal system was intimidating
E	Serious disparities in service benefits between males and females
F	Sex differentiated roles and curriculums
G	Unsatisfactory maternity leave conditions
H	Authoritarian control of education: hierarchical division of power, women at the bottom; prescription - little room for individuality

Figure 7.2 Negative Aspects of Teaching in Apartheid South Africa.



According to Figure 7.2., 35.3 percent of the respondents felt that living in cocoons in the past did not allow them to share ideas; 61.8 percent admitted that they did not challenge patriarchy but followed it blindly; 14.7 percent that the bureaucracy was rigid; 38.2 percent complained about the appraisal

system which stymied advancement because it was intimidating; 55.9 percent complained about the discriminatory service benefits based on race and gender; 44.1 percent said that the roles and curriculums were sex differentiated; 20.6 percent found the maternity leave benefits unsatisfactory; 26.5 percent complained that the control of education was authoritarian, allowing for little individuality, with the women at the bottom of the hierarchy.

3. *Empowerment of Women Teachers in Post-Apartheid South Africa.*

Table 7.3.

ISSUE CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
A	The South African Constitution guarantees gender equality, empowers women to challenge any kind of gender discrimination.
B	Women teachers could now operate as professionals
C	Women teachers are now empowered economically
D	Women teachers are now able to function in an open teaching community
E	More space opened for women teachers to develop both as teachers and managers

Figure 7.3 Empowerment of Women Teachers in Post-Apartheid South Africa

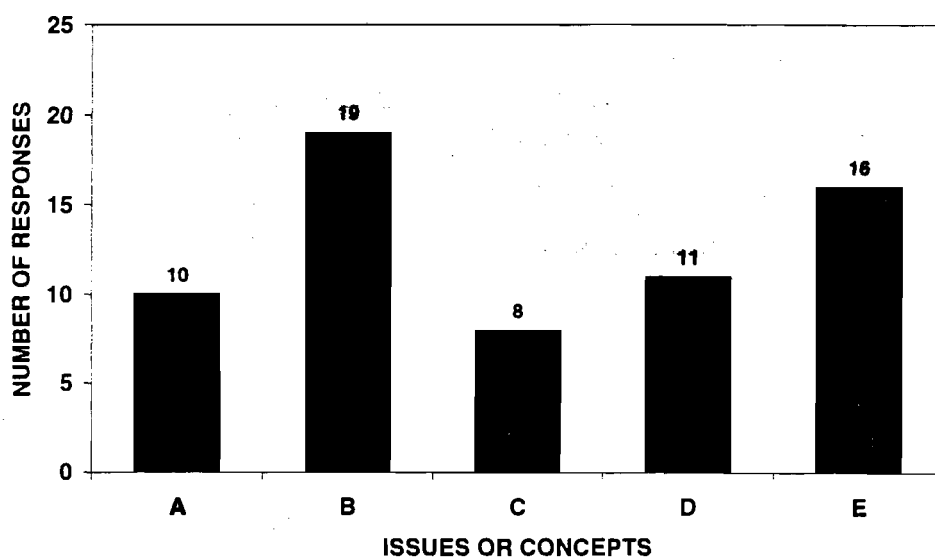


Figure 7.3. reveals that 29.41 percent of the respondents were aware that the Constitution guarantees gender equality; 55.9 percent said that they had professional status; 23.5 percent felt economically

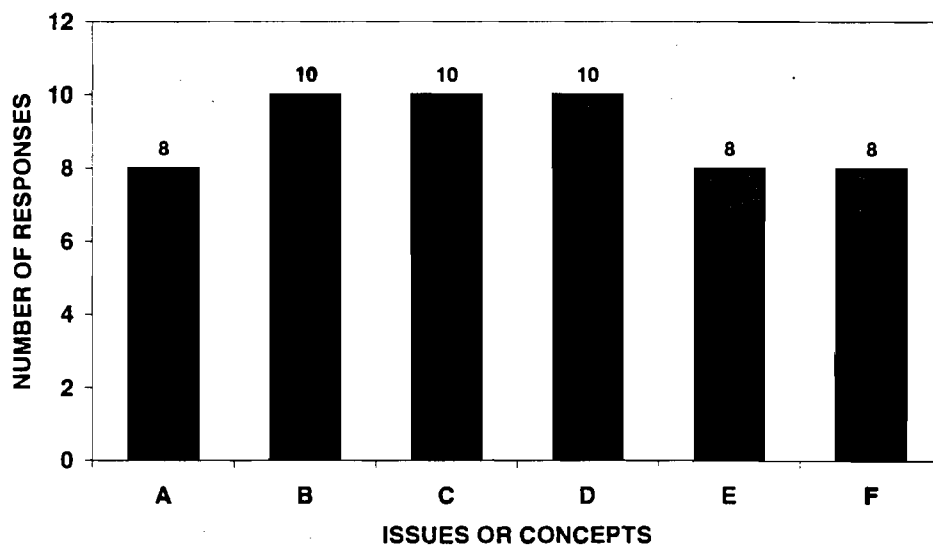
empowered; 32.4 percent felt they worked in an open society; 47.05 percent conceded women were given more space to develop as teachers and managers.

4. Disempowerment of Women Teachers in Post-Apartheid South Africa.

Table 7.4.

ISSUE CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
A	In spite of their majority status and competence, few women are promoted to positions of upper management
B	Although women are now included in decision-making processes, few participate in the higher levels of decision-making.
C	Women teachers feel insecure because of deployment, the vacillation policies of the Department, the threat of whittling down of benefits etc.
D	Teachers' professional status and morale are now very low
E	Lack of job satisfaction
F	Unsafe work environment

Figure 7.4 Disempowerment of Women Teachers in Post-Apartheid South Africa



According to Figure 7.4., 23.5 percent felt few women were promoted to upper management positions in spite of their competence and demographics; 29.4 percent felt women were not included in decision making at higher levels, they had no job security, teachers' status and morale were very low; 23.5 percent said that there was neither job satisfaction nor a safe work environment for women.

5. *Noticeable Changes for Women Teachers.*

Table 7.5.

ISSUE CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
A	Women are promoted to managerial positions on the basis of affirmative action
B	More opportunities are being opened for the advancement of women
C	Service benefits are being improved - eg. salaries, bonuses, housing subsidies, pensions
D	Threat of reduction in certain benefits such as housing subsidizing and medical aid
E	Women's Rights are recognised eg. relaxing of dress code

Figure 7.5 Noticeable Changes for Women Teachers

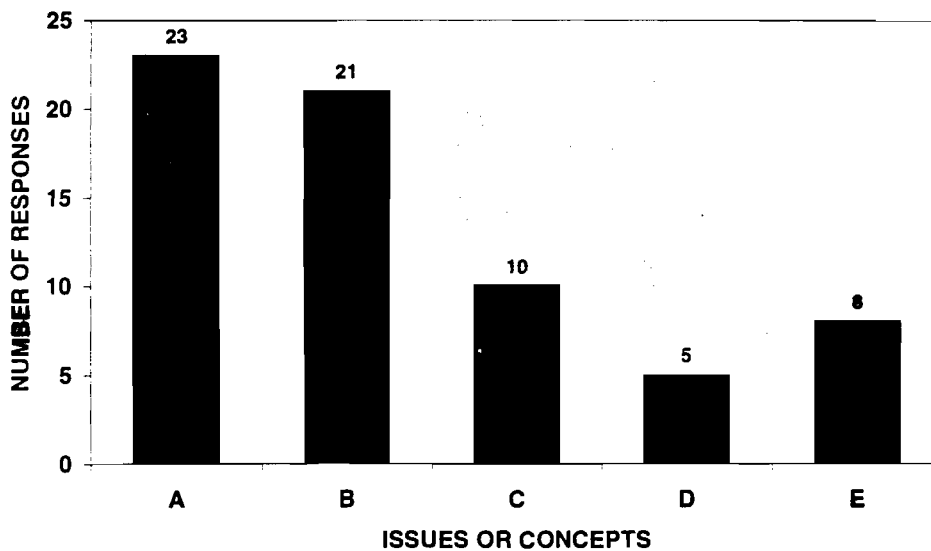


Figure 7.5. reveals that 67.6 percent felt that women were promoted to managerial positions on the basis of affirmative action; 61.8 percent felt more opportunities were opened for women to make advancement; 29.4 percent indicated that service benefits were improved; 14.7 percent felt that there was the threat of a general reduction in benefits; 23.5 percent felt women's rights were recognised.

6. *Room for Improvement : Changes Wanted.*

Table 7.6.

ISSUE CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
A	Reduction in workload, eg. class sizes, to manageable levels
B	Provision of creches, child-care, day care facilities at schools
C	Authorities to be sensitive about redeploying women teachers to distant schools
D	General improvement in service benefits
E	Improvement in maternity leave
F	Recognition of women's worth
G	Respect for women from male colleagues and learners
H	Safer work environment

Figure 7.6 Changes Wanted

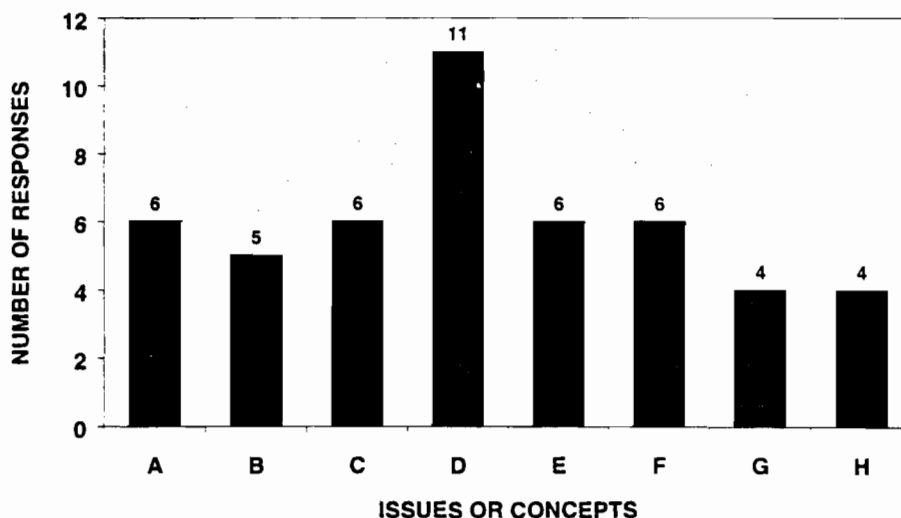


Figure 7.6 reveals that 17.65 of the respondents wanted a reduction in the workload, more sensitivity from the KZNDEC about the redeployment of women, an improvement in maternity leave, recognition of women's worth; 14.70 percent wanted childcare facilities at schools, respect from male colleagues and learners, and a safe work environment; 32.35 percent wanted a general improvement in service benefits.

Part II

The presentation of the data comprises the inputs made by the eight categories of KZN women teachers. These categories consisted of the four historically designated race groups - Indians, Africans, Coloureds and Whites - and primary school teachers and secondary or high school teachers within each race group. The data are presented in an integrated way but distinctions between the different categories are made wherever it is possible or deemed necessary.

A. Biographical Details

A.1. Personal Details

1. Historically Designated Race Groups

Table 7.7. Respondents by Race

Race group	PS	SS	Total
Indians	49	44	93
Africans	36	19	55
Coloureds	37	37	74
Whites	27	30	57
Total	149	130	279

Table 7.7. reflects that overall 69.75 percent of the women teachers responded. The respondents comprised 33.33 percent Indians, 26.52 percent Coloureds, 20.43 percent Whites and 19.72 percent Africans. The lower return rates from the White and African women lowered the overall return rate. However, there is an element of distortion in the returns as the co-ordinators at some of the historically Indian, Coloured and White schools did not adhere to requests made to distribute the questionnaires only to women of the dominant race group on their staffs. There were instances in the integrated White schools, for example, where Indians were approached, causing overlaps. But, such overlaps were minimal (12 or 4.30 percent of the overall returns). It is believed, however, that the overall effect of this distortion would be insignificant.

2. Age Groups

Table 7.8. Age Profile

Age group	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
25 & under	4	3	7	0	2	2	0	1	1	5	2	7	9	8	17
26-34	9	16	25	9	7	16	9	16	25	7	10	17	34	49	83
35-44	30	16	46	15	8	23	17	16	33	7	11	18	69	51	120
45-54	5	8	13	8	2	10	9	2	11	4	5	9	26	17	43
55-59	1	0	1	2	0	2	2	1	3	4	2	6	9	3	12
60 & over	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
Not Disclosed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	49	44	93	36	19	55	37	37	74	27	30	57	149	130	279

Table 7.8 shows that majority of the teachers were in the age group 35 - 44, which was 43.81 percent of the total. If 44 years is used as middle age, 78.85 percent of the women were 44 years or under. In this age group, 83.87 percent were Indians, 74.50 percent Africans, 79.72 percent Coloureds and 73.68 percent Whites. By deduction it would appear that the KZN schools are staffed by relatively young teachers. Of the women past middle-age, 16.13 percent were Indians, 19.18 percent Coloureds, 23.32 percent Whites and 25.45 percent Africans. Fifty one percent of the younger teachers were employed at primary schools. Of the teachers over 55 years of age, 40 percent were Whites, 26.67 percent Africans, 20 percent Coloureds and 13.33 percent Indians. 73.33 percent of the old women were employed at the primary schools.

3. Qualifications

3.1. Academic

According to Table 7.9., overall 57.62 percent of the respondents were teaching with only a matriculation qualification. In this category of teachers, Indians comprised 38.89 percent, Africans 73.08 percent, Coloureds 67.12 percent and Whites 61.11 percent of their respective groups.

Overall, 41.26 percent of the respondents were graduates; 30.48 percent with bachelors degrees, 2.97 percent with second bachelors degrees, 5.58 percent with honours degrees and 2.23 percent with masters degrees.

Altogether, 57.78 percent of the Indians were graduates; of whom 75 percent possessed bachelors

degrees, 9.61 percent second bachelors degrees, 11.54 percent honours degrees and 3.85 percent masters degrees. Sixty three point four six percent of the graduates taught in secondary schools.

Table 7.9. Women Teachers : Life Long Learners?

Qualification	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Matric only	24	11	35	31	7	38	29	20	49	23	10	33	107	48	155
Matric + part degree	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Bachelors degree	14	25	39	3	7	10	6	12	18	2	13	15	25	57	82
2nd degree	3	2	5	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	5	8
Honours degree	1	5	6	1	1	2	0	3	3	0	4	4	2	13	15
Masters degree	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	2	2	2	4	6
Doctors degree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undisclosed	3	0	3	1	2	3	1	0	1	2	1	3	7	3	10
Total	49	44	93	36	19	55	37	37	74	27	30	57	149	130	279

In the case of Africans, 26.92 percent were graduates; 71.43 percent of them with bachelors degrees and 14.29 percent with honours degrees. Seventy one point four two percent of the graduates taught in secondary schools.

Thirty two point eight eight percent of the Coloureds were graduates; 75 percent of them possessed bachelors degrees; 4.17 percent second bachelors degrees; 12.50 percent honours degrees and 8.33 percent masters degrees. Seventy point three eight percent of the graduates taught in secondary schools.

Thirty eight point eight nine percent of the Whites were graduates; 71.43 percent of them possessed bachelors degrees, 19.05 percent honours degrees and 9.52 percent masters degrees. Ninety point four eight percent of the graduates taught in secondary schools.

Of all the graduates, 46.85 percent were Indians, 12.61 percent Africans, 21.62 percent Coloureds and 18.92 percent Whites. Overall, 71.17 percent of the graduates were teaching in secondary or high schools.

3.2. Professional

Table 7.10. Women Certificated to Teach

Qualification	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
1st Diploma	28	25	53	28	12	40	33	34	67	22	24	46	111	95	206
2nd Diploma	12	7	19	6	2	8	3	1	4	1	2	3	22	12	34
3rd Diploma	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Degree + Diploma	3	7	10	1	3	4	0	1	1	1	0	1	5	11	16
Nil	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	3	2	3	5
Undisclosed	5	4	9	1	2	3	1	0	1	2	2	4	9	8	17
Total	49	44	93	36	19	55	37	37	74	27	30	57	149	130	279

Table 7.10. reflects that 98.09 percent of the respondents were certificated and only 1.91 percent were uncertificated teachers. This is a slightly distorted image, however, as 6.09 percent of the participants did not divulge their professional qualifications.

Significantly, 100 percent of the African respondents were certificated as compared to 94 percent of the Whites and 98 percent of the Coloureds and Indians inclusive. Sixty percent of the uncertificated teachers taught in White and Coloured secondary schools and the other 40 percent (20 percent Indians and 20 percent Whites) taught in primary schools.

It is very significant that the majority of the KZN women teachers appear to be professionally qualified. This factor signifies the improvements made in women's education and training in the last four decades.

4. Current and Future Studies

4.1. Life Long Learners

The striking feature to emerge was the negative attitude to furthering their education, as 73.84 percent of the teachers indicated they were not studying presently. Altogether, 87.78 percent of the Indians, 27.27 percent Africans, 87.83 percent Coloureds and 82.45 percent Whites displayed this attitude. However, the African women appeared to be different as 72.73 percent were furthering their studies. But, there was wide disparity (ratio of 4:1) between the primary and secondary women who were studying. Results are shown in Table 7.11.

Table 7.11. Remaining Life Long Learners

Qualification	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Yes	4	7	11	32	8	40	5	4	9	2	8	10	43	27	70
No	44	35	79	4	11	15	32	33	65	25	22	47	105	101	206
Undisclosed	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
Total	49	44	93	36	19	55	37	37	74	27	30	57	149	130	279

4.2. Wannabe Life Long Learners

Table 7.12. Wannabe Life Long Learners

Qualification	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Yes	10	6	16	3	3	6	9	11	20	4	1	5	26	21	47
No	20	18	38	1	7	8	11	9	20	17	12	29	49	46	95
Unsure	0	2	2	0	1	1	2	4	6	0	1	1	2	8	10
Undisclosed	14	9	23	0	0	0	10	9	19	4	8	12	28	26	54
Total	44	35	79	4	11	15	32	33	65	25	22	47	105	101	206

Table 7.12 reflects overwhelming negativity to further studies as 46.12 percent of the respondents will not be studying in the future, 4.85 percent were unsure and 26.21 percent did not disclose this information. Of those unwilling to study in the future, 40 percent were Indians, 8.42 percent Africans, 21.05 percent Coloureds and 30.52 percent Whites. The striking feature here was that 70.37 percent of the Indians, 57.14 percent Africans, 50 percent Coloureds and 85.29 percent Whites indicated categorically that they will not study in the future.

These women had the following justifications for their decisions:

1. A large number of the women said that there were no incentives or motivation to study further. Some said that it was a waste of money to study as there was no monetary gains because of broadbanding; others said that they could not afford the fees as they were funding their children's education. A large number said that there was no recognition for higher qualifications in terms of either making a contribution to education or gaining promotion. Some even said that they had adequate qualifications to function as educators and that experience quite often counted more than added qualifications.
2. The larger proportion of the women cited the lack of time as the most important deterring factor.

The heavy workload and family obligations made study unmanageable. Some said that they used their spare time to promote their children's education.

3. There was a small proportion of women who felt that it was a waste of time and money to study as they were nearing retirement and some said that they want to leave the profession to pursue other occupations as there was no future in teaching.

Those teachers who had the desire to study said that they wanted to empower themselves to gain higher salaries and better pensions; to improve their qualifications and professional expertise; to attain personal fulfilment; to gain skills for other jobs and thereafter branch out of teaching.

The striking feature of the responses was the high degree of negative attitude towards further studies. This runs counter to Hoyle's theory of professionalism (cited in Harley et al, 1999) and is incompatible with the requirement that teachers should be life-long learners (GG No. 20844, 04/02/2000). (vide 8.2.4.)

5. Marital Status

Table 7.13. Paired or Single

Marital Status	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Single - never married	9	9	18	11	9	20	5	6	11	4	7	11	29	31	60
Divorced	7	4	11	3	0	3	0	1	1	1	3	4	11	8	19
Widowed	2	0	2	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	1	2	6	1	7
Separated	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	2	4
Married - living with partner	31	30	61	19	9	28	30	28	58	21	19	40	101	86	187
Undisclosed	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total	49	44	93	36	19	55	37	37	74	27	30	57	149	130	279

According to Table 7.13., 67.02 percent of the women were married, 6.81 percent divorced, 2.51 percent widowed, 1.43 percent separated, 0.72 percent lived with partners and 21.50 percent were unmarried (never married). There was no significant differences between the primary and secondary teachers except in the widowed category, where the primary teachers were in the majority (85.71 percent). The largest proportion of divorcees were found among the Indian teachers (57.89 percent), followed by Whites (21.05 percent), Africans (15.79 percent) and Coloureds (5.27 percent). It is significant that the large majority (78.34 percent) of the KZN women teachers appeared to cleave to traditional/social institution of marriage. In spite of their professional status and relative financial independence they found marriage compelling. This socio-cultural pressure has implication

for the women's work as teachers. (vide 8.2.5.1.)

6. Women Teachers with Children

Table 7.14. Motherhood or Childlessness

Marital Status	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Single - never married	1	0	1	9	2	11	0	1	1	0	1	1	10	4	14
Divorced	7	3	10	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	3	4	11	6	17
Widowed	2	0	2	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	1	2	6	1	7
Separated	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	2	4
Married	30	26	56	19	9	28	29	27	56	16	17	33	94	79	173
Living with partner	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total	40	30	70	34	12	46	31	30	61	18	22	40	123	94	217

Table 7.14. reveals that 77.78 percent of the women teachers had children and, more importantly, of them, 19.35 percent were single parents. The largest proportion of single parents were found among the Africans (42.86 percent) followed by Indians (30.95 percent), Whites (16.67 percent) and Coloureds (9.52 percent). Among the single parents (parents who never married), 78.57 percent were Africans and the women of the other race groups were evenly distributed at 7.14 percent each.

Single-parent households have far reaching implications as it is assumed that the women might have to shoulder greater responsibilities compared to the women in double-parent households. There appeared to be a strong desire among these women to have children. The hunch is that this desire is either born out of their biological constitution or socio-cultural influences. This desire was so great that women who had chosen to remain single (never married) decided to have children either of their own or adopted them. Whatever the circumstances, it is contended that having children increases the workload, responsibilities and the stress levels for women teachers. (vide 8.2.5.5. & 8.2.7.2.2.)

7. Teachers with other dependents

According to Table 7.15., 29.75 percent of the women teachers had other dependents to support. The largest proportion of teachers in this category were the Africans (51.81 percent), followed by Indians (30.12 percent), Coloureds (14.46 percent) and Whites (3.61 percent). Significantly, in the category of single women (never married) with dependents, 72.73 percent were Africans, 18.18 percent Indians,

9.09 percent Coloureds and 0 percent Whites. The pattern that emerges clearly indicates that the extended family system still exists amongst Africans and Indians to greater extent than the Coloureds but very marginally amongst Whites. (vide 8.2.7.2.5.)

Table 7.15. More Responsibilities and Work

Marital Status	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Single - never married	3	1	4	11	5	16	1	1	2	0	0	0	15	7	22
Divorced	3	1	4	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	7
Widowed	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Separated	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Married	11	6	17	16	5	21	6	3	9	1	2	3	34	16	50
Living with partner	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	17	8	25	33	10	43	7	5	12	1	2	3	58	25	83

The assumption is that the Black women teachers, especially the Africans and Indians, had the additional burden of providing and caring for other dependents such as their or their spouses' parents, siblings and other relatives in the extended/joint families. The added responsibilities and work would definitely impact on their professional work as teachers.

8. Religious Groups

Table 7.16. Religious Convictions

Religious group	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Hinduism	38	28	66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	28	66
Buddhism	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Islam	2	5	7	0	0	0	1	5	6	0	0	0	3	10	13
Judaism	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity	8	10	18	33	18	51	36	32	68	27	30	57	104	90	194
Zionism	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	0	1	3	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	5
Undisclosed	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	49	44	93	36	19	55	37	37	74	27	30	57	149	130	279

Table 7.16 reflects that 69.78 percent of the respondents belonged to Christianity, 23.74 percent to Hinduism, 4.68 percent to Islam and 1.80 percent to unnamed religions. Christianity was the dominant

religion as 100 percent of the Whites, 91.89 percent Coloureds, 92.72 percent Africans and 19.56 percent Indians belonged to it. The second dominant religion was Hinduism and 71.74 percent of the Indians and 0 percent of the women of other race groups belonged to it. Seven point six one percent of the Indians, 8.11 percent Coloureds and 0 percent of the other race groups were the followers of Islam. Only 1.08 percent of the Indians, 7.27 percent Africans and 0 percent Whites and Coloureds belonged to unnamed religions. The perception is that in most of the schools a largely Christian ethos would prevail while in historically Indian schools a Hindu culture would prevail. This assumption was partly proved in the interviews. (vide 8.2.7.1.)

9. Teaching Service

Table 7.17. Ranges of Years of Service

Number of years	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
5 & under	4	10	14	2	5	7	1	5	6	5	6	11	12	26	38
6 - 10	9	8	17	12	4	16	8	13	21	4	9	13	33	34	67
11 - 15	6	6	12	10	8	18	9	8	17	8	5	13	33	27	60
16 - 20	21	10	31	3	1	4	5	6	11	4	8	12	33	25	58
21 - 25	4	4	8	3	1	4	7	2	9	2	0	2	16	7	23
26 - 30	2	4	6	3	0	3	3	1	4	1	1	2	9	6	15
31 - 35	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	3	3	1	4	7	0	0
Over 35	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Undisclosed	2	2	4	1	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	4	3	7
Total	49	44	93	36	19	55	37	37	74	27	30	57	149	130	279

If twenty years of service is taken as the mid-point in a teacher's working life, then in terms of Table 7.17., 79.93 percent of the teachers fell in the 1-20 years category. By implication the larger majority of the women teachers were relatively young. This factor has implications for the delivery of education in general and governance of schools in particular. Furthermore, it has implications for service benefits of the women teachers. For example, only 20.7 percent of the women are likely to have substantial benefits in pension fund presently since they had more than 20 years services. However, these women are likely to receive lower benefits than their male counterparts because of their lower contribution to the GSPF in the old regime. (vide 8.2.6.2.)

A.2. Employment History

1. Types of Schools of Employment

Table 7.18. Types of Schools

Types of schools	Indians	Africans	Coloureds	Whites	Final Total
Lower primary (Gr 0-4)	0	17	0	0	17
Junior Primary (Gr 0-3)	0	0	0	13	13
Primary with JP classes (Gr 0-6)	49	19	37	14	119
Secondary/High schools with primary classes (Gr 0-12)	4	0	1	0	5
Secondary/High	39	19	36	30	124
Undisclosed	1	0	0	0	1
Total	93	55	74	57	279

According to Table 7.18., overall, 53.60 percent of the KZN women teachers taught in primary schools and 46.40 percent in secondary or high schools. Twenty point one three percent of the primary women teachers taught in exclusively lower or junior primary schools. This category of schools did not feature in historically Indian and Coloured education.

2. Deployment of Women Teachers

Table 7.19. Classes Women Teach

Phases taught	Indians	Africans	Coloureds	Whites	Final Total
Lower primary (Gr 0-4)	0	21	0	0	21
Junior Primary (Gr 0-3)	29	0	12	18	59
Senior Primary (Gr 4-6)	22	6	21	6	55
JP & SP (Gr 0-6)	0	8	0	1	9
Junior Secondary (Gr 7-9)	8	1	9	3	21
Senior Secondary (Gr 10-12)	24	12	20	18	74
JS & SS (Gr 7-12)	7	3	4	4	18
Undisclosed	3	4	8	7	22
Total	93	55	74	57	279

Table 7.19. reflects that in the primary schools, 55.55 percent of the women taught the lower/junior primary classes, 38.19 percent taught senior classes and 6.25 percent taught a combination of JP and SP classes. In the secondary or high schools, 65.49 percent taught SS classes. 18.58 percent taught JS classes and 15.93 percent taught both JS and SS classes.

The division of work in the primary correlated closely with the widely held belief that women teach mostly the lower grades and the men the higher grades. However, the present situation at secondary or high schools contradicted this belief as the majority of the women were deployed to teach the higher grades. The highest rate of deployment of women in SS classes was found in African schools (75 percent), followed by White schools (72 percent).

3. Rank

Table 7.20. Ranks

Rank	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Principal	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	3
Deputy Principal	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	3	1	0	1	5	1	6
HoD	8	3	11	7	3	10	6	6	12	2	4	6	23	16	39
L1 Educator	39	40	79	25	15	40	28	30	58	23	26	49	115	111	226
Undisclosed	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	2	5
Total	49	44	93	36	19	55	37	37	74	27	30	57	149	130	279

Table 7.20. indicates that 82.48 percent of the women were level 1 educators, 14.23 percent were heads of departments, 2.19 percent were deputy-principals and 1.10 percent were principals. The most empowered women teachers seemed to be the Africans as 24.52 percent of them were principals, deputy-principals and heads of departments. They were followed by the Coloured with 20.55 percent of them in similar positions. The Whites were marginally better than the Indians as 14.04 percent and 13.18 percent respectively held the above-mentioned positions. Overall, only 17.52 percent of the women held these positions. There was clear evidence that women teachers were still under-represented in positions of power at the schools.(vide A2., 6. & 8.2.8.3.)

4. Nature of Employment

Table 7.21. Type of Employment

Nature of employment	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Permanent	40	38	78	34	16	50	34	30	64	17	19	36	125	103	228
Temporary	4	2	6	1	3	4	2	3	5	3	3	6	10	11	21
Part-time	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Locum teacher	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Contract - 1 year	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	4	4	4	3	7	4	10	14
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SGB	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	7	5	5	10
CTT	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Undisclosed	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	1	4
Total	49	44	93	36	19	55	37	37	74	27	30	57	149	130	279

Table 7.21. reflects that 82.91 percent of the women teachers had secure positions, in the sense that they were permanent teachers. The most secure were the Africans and the least secure were the Whites, as 90.91 percent and 64.28 percent of them respectively were permanent teachers. Likewise, the Coloureds were marginally securer than the Indians, as 86.41 percent and 85.71 percent respectively were permanent teachers. The other noticeable feature was that contract and SGB posts appeared to exist in historically Indian and White schools only, which has implications in respect of funding, provisions of human and material resources etc. in the new dispensation. There was clear indication that the curtailment of Govt funding has resulted in strict staff rationing. The above-mentioned categories of schools in their efforts to maintain standards in education were compelled to hire additional teachers using their own funds. It is likely that invariably women would have been employed because they are readily available, more especially in view of the mass unemployment; they are generally cheaper to hire; they are more likely to take on temporary posts.

5. Interruptions in Service

Table 7.22. Interruptions in Service

Interruptions in service	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Yes	10	10	20	4	2	6	10	15	25	19	15	34	43	42	85
No	39	33	72	31	17	48	26	22	48	8	15	23	104	87	191
Undisclosed	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	3
Total	49	44	93	36	19	55	37	37	74	27	30	57	149	130	279

Table 7.22. Indicates that 30.80 percent of the women teachers had interruptions in their service. The highest incidence of interruptions have occurred in the services of Whites (59.65 percent) and the lowest in the services of Africans (11.11 percent). The Coloureds had an incidence of 34.25 percent and the Indians 21.74 percent.

Several reasons were advanced for interruptions in their services.

5.1 Family-building

Seventy three point five three percent of the Whites said that they had taken breaks to have and raise children. 40 percent of the Coloureds and 35 percent of the Indian women but only 16.67 percent of the Africans took maternity leave.

The high incidence of White women's severance from teaching service for family-building has implications. First, Whites appeared more prone to sever ties soon after marriage and return when the last child was at school. Second, Whites could have afforded to take long breaks because they were economically stronger than their Black counterparts. Third, therefore, because the White women did not depend on teaching for a living, it appeared to be a 'sideline' to them.

5.2 Termination/Retrenchment

Women teachers who were on temporary service for long periods seemed to have been in the most vulnerable positions in lean times. Thirty six percent of the Coloureds, 25 percent Indians and 16.67 percent of Africans indicated that they were either retrenched or their services were terminated because they were on temporary staff. No White women teachers indicated that they had been affected by this factor.

5.3. Study Leave

Ten percent of the Indians, 16.67 percent of the Africans and 4 percent of the Coloureds had taken leave to further their studies or retrain. No White women indicated that they had done this.

5.4. Travel Abroad

Seventeen point six five percent of the Whites and 4 percent of the Coloureds had taken leave to travel abroad for long periods. One White woman indicated that she had taught in another country for a while. No Africans and Indians had taken leave for these purposes.

5.5. Relocation to other Provinces

Eleven point seven six percent of the Whites and 15 percent of the Coloureds had resigned to follow their husbands who relocated to other provinces. The Africans and Indians were not subjected to this apparently.

Eleven point seven six percent of the Whites, 8 percent of the Coloureds and 5 percent of the Indians had resigned to take other jobs and then re-entered the profession later.

5.6. Marriage

Five point eight eight percent of the Whites and 4 percent of the Coloureds had resigned to get married. The Indians and Africans showed no signs of this.

5.7. No Vacancies

Two point nine four percent of the Whites and 16.67 percent of the Africans indicated that they were unemployed at different times because there were no vacancies, presumably near their homes.

5.8. Punitive Resignation

One Coloured woman said that she was forced to resign because she became pregnant as an unmarried woman. Significantly, this factor is absent from the other groups of teachers, especially the Africans, in which a large number of unmarried (never married) mothers were present.

Women, especially the married ones, do not generally have a stable, continuous service history. Those who resigned to get married were lost to the profession temporarily or permanently. The resultant wastage has far reaching implications : increase in teacher turnover, shortage of teachers, and finance loss to the state as the teachers trained at its expense leave the service.

Sixty nine point two zero percent of the women had no break in service. Most of the other 30.80 percent had interruptions because they took maternity leave or their services were terminated. But few Africans took maternity leave and no Whites' services were terminated. Some Whites and Coloureds had resigned to get married or to travel abroad or follow their husbands to others locations, but no Indians and Africans seemed to venture in these directions.

6. Women Principals, Deputy Principals and HOD's

Table 7.23. Women Principals, Deputy Principals & HODs

Posts	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites	
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS
Principal	46.9%	14.3%	66.7%	5.3%	0.0%	5.4%	25.9%	13.3%	34.9%	9.6%	22.2%
Deputy Principal	27.0%	26.5%	68.7%	42.1%	63.3%	80.9%	86.9%	50.0%	61.5%	49.9%	55.7%
HoD	71.4%	35.7%	77.6%	56.8%	90.2%	62.8%	78.4%	66.8%	79.4%	55.5%	67.5%
Average %	48.5%	25.5%	71.0%	34.7%	51.2%	49.7%	63.7%	43.4%	58.6%	38.3%	48.5%

The striking features of the representativeness of women principals were : a high rate in African primary schools but a zero rate in Coloured primary schools, a fairly higher rate in Indian primary schools than White primary schools, a generally low rate in all secondary schools, the highest rate being the Indian secondary schools and a marginally lower rate in White secondary schools. Overall, women represented only 22.22 percent of the principals of the schools included in the survey.

On the whole, women represented 55.70 percent of the deputy principals in the schools investigated. The highest percentage of women deputy principals were present in the Coloured schools and the lowest in the Indian schools. Except the Coloured schools, the percentage of women deputy principals were higher in the primary schools than the secondary schools.

Overall, women represented 67.47 percent of all HOD's in the schools investigated. The largest proportion of the HOD's were to be found in Coloured schools and the lowest in Indian schools. Again, the percentage in primary schools was greater than the secondary schools, the biggest disparity

being among the representatives in the Indian schools.

The women were making inroads into management positions at schools. Evidence for this was found in the high percentage of HOD's and Deputy Principals at the schools. These percentages were commensurate with the greater presence of women teachers at the schools. However, a disproportion was noticeable in percentage of women principals. The overall representation of women in management at the schools under investigation is 58.61 percent at primary schools and 38.33 percent at secondary schools. But this disparity (of 20.28 percent) is at odds with the small disparity (of 7.20 percent) in the presence of women at these schools.(vide A2.1.)

Overall, women teachers held 48.47 percent of the management posts at the schools but in terms of their greater numbers this is an under-representation. (vide A2.3.) Moreover, a disproportionately low number was present in the higher echelons of power.

B. Opinion Survey

1. Social and Economic Attitude to Teaching

Table 7.24. Ambition vs Social & Financial Security

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Total		Final Total
	P	S	T	P	S	T	P	S	T	P	S	T	P	S	
1.1	7	4	11	9	2	11	3	2	5	3	2	5	22	10	32
1.2	5	12	17	20	4	24	9	11	20	0	3	3	34	30	64
1.3	31	24	55	13	8	21	19	17	36	11	5	16	74	54	128
1.4	5	5	10	10	8	18	4	3	7	0	3	3	19	19	38
1.5	1	3	4	2	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	5	8
1.6	13	14	27	3	2	5	19	12	31	17	21	38	52	49	101
Total	62	62	124	57	25	82	54	46	100	31	34	65	204	167	371

Table 7.24 reflects a low response rate (22.16 percent) to the suggestions fielded. Forty five point eight eight percent said that they became teachers because they thought teaching was a secure, well-paid job (Item 1.3.). The highest responses (42.96 percent) came from the Indians and the lowest (12.50 percent) from the Whites. Twenty two point nine four percent said that there were no other opportunities open to them (Item 1.2.). The Africans' response rate was the highest (37.50 percent) and the Whites' rate was the lowest (4.69 percent) and the Coloureds' and Indians' rates were 31.25 percent and 26.56 percent respectively. Thirteen point six two percent said that their parents found teaching the cheapest way of making them professionals (Item 1.4.). Forty seven point three seven percent of the responses came from the Africans, 26.32 percent from Indians, 18.42 percent from

Coloureds and only 7.89 percent from Whites. Eleven point four six percent said domestic work, motherhood and teaching are closely related thus influenced them to become teachers (Item 1.1.). The Africans' and Indians' responses were 34.38 percent each and the Coloureds' and Whites' responses were 15.62 percent each. Two point eight seven percent said that their parents chose teaching because it would give the family social status (Item 1.5.). Fifty percent of the responses came from the Indians, 37.50 percent from the Africans, 12.50 percent from the Coloureds and 0 percent from the Whites.

One hundred and one of the respondents (36.20 percent) gave other reasons for choosing teaching as a career. For 16.83 percent of them teaching was an ambition; 21 percent loved teaching and working with children; 5.94 percent received bursaries and loans train as teachers; for 8.91 percent of them teaching was a calling which included social and community service; some felt they had the talent and personality for teaching; one (Indian) said that her father chose the job for her; one (White) said that she saw teaching as a satisfying and fulfilling career.

In summary, the social attitudes seemed to overshadow economic considerations. The majority of the teachers indicated an affinity for teaching and social/community work. Not many Whites saw teaching as secure or well-paid and extremely not a single one saw it as a prestigious profession. On the other hand, a good proportion of Africans and Indians and a small proportion of Coloureds regarded teaching as prestigious. In terms of job security, job availability and pay, many Africans and Indians and a few Coloureds saw teaching as a means of empowerment. This is clearly the reaction of people who had been disadvantaged by the job reservation policy of the Apartheid regime. The Whites' attitude to teaching appears to be largely influenced by the privileges accorded to them previously. (vide AI. 5.1. & 8.2.9.)

2. Pregnant Women: Blessed or Cursed?

Table 7.25. Treatment of Pregnant Women

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
2.1	7	4	11	4	1	5	1	2	3	7	1	8	19	8	27
2.2	0	1	1	5	2	7	1	1	2	0	0	0	6	4	10
2.3	0	4	4	1	2	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	6	8
2.4	33	31	64	30	16	46	31	32	63	24	23	47	118	102	220
2.5	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
2.6.	4	9	13	1	0	1	6	1	7	3	5	8	14	15	29
Total	44	51	95	42	21	63	39	36	75	35	29	64	160	137	297

Table 7.25 reveals a low overall response rate (17.74 percent) to items 2.1. to 2.6.. The suggestion that pregnancy is not an illness but a natural part of life (Item 2.4) attracted the highest response(74.07 percent). Twenty nine point nine one percent of the responses came from the Indians. 28.64 percent from Coloureds, 21.36 percent from Whites and 20.19 percent from Africans. Significantly, the disparity between the collective responses of the Indians and Coloureds on the one hand, and the Whites and Africans on the other, was 15.45 percent.

The suggestion that the principals allocate a lighter workload to pregnant women (Item 2.1.) attracted 9.09 percent of the responses. Of the respondents, 40.74 percent were Indians, 29.63 percent Whites, 18.52 percent Africans and 11.11 percent Coloureds. Three point three seven percent responded to the suggestion that teachers are sympathetic to pregnant women as they are to accident victims (Item 2.2.). Seventy percent of the responses came from Africans, 20 percent from Coloureds, 10 percent from Indians and 0 percent from Whites. The suggestion that teachers become irritable about being allocated part of pregnant women's work (Item 2.3.) attracted 2.69 percent responses overall. Of the respondents, 50 percent were Indians, 37.50 percent Africans, 12.50 percent Whites and 0 percent Coloureds. The responses to the suggestion that the principals could place pregnant women on the transfer list(Item 2.5.) was very low (1.01 percent). Of the respondents 66.67 percent were Indians, 33.33 percent Africans and 0 percent Whites and Coloureds.

Nine point seven seven percent of the respondents made other inputs. These inputs reveal that 25 percent of the respondents did not have any knowledge of how pregnant women were treated at their schools; 21.43 percent said that principals were sympathetic, supportive and caring; 17.86 percent said that pregnant women were treated like normal people who were expected to carry a normal workload. But 25 percent of the responses revealed a less charitable perspective. Some of the things said about pregnant women are : they are a nuisance; they need to work harder to prove that they could cope with work; they are given the lower classes because they are inefficient in maintaining discipline. In support of the pregnant women, one teacher said that laxity is shown to pregnant women only in extra-curricular duties; another revealed that because they are going on leave they are given the problem classes; a third said that pregnant women should be given more respect, kindness and support. This kind of attitude appeared to exist only in Indian and White schools as only women of these race groups made inputs.

The principals and staffs of schools are generally very tolerant of and sympathetic to pregnant women teachers. Harsh treatment of pregnant women suggested in items 2.3. and 2.5. were present on a very small scale. The Coloureds appeared to be the most tolerant because their non-responses suggests that

the type of treatment was absent in their schools. In this respect, the Whites were partially tolerant as they appeared not to get irritated by being allocated extra work (item 2.3.) The overwhelmingly high response rate to item 2.4. and the relatively low response rates to the other items indicate that the treatment of pregnant women teachers in the workplace is not a big feminist issue to be debated. However, the sizeable differences between the collective Indian and Coloured inputs and the African and White inputs (14.48 percent) and the other inputs made by the 9.77 of the respondents make debate relevant. First, apparently the treatment of pregnant women is not so much of an issue at the historically White and African schools as it is in Indian and Coloured schools. Second, 25 percent of the responses revealed that some schools are less charitable to pregnant women. This insight is confirmed in one conversation. (vide 8.3.)

3. Women's Involvement in Selected Functions at School

Table 7.26 reveals that 96.34 percent of the women teachers responded to all the issues. The respondents indicated that in all aspects 55.28 percent of the women functioned at a high level, 28.94 percent at a medium level, 11.83 percent at a low level and 3.94 percent at zero level. Of those who said they functioned at a high level, 33.24 percent were Indians, 29.21 percent Whites, 25.17 percent Coloureds and 12.38 percent Africans. Of those who said 'medium level', 34.45 percent were Indians, 30.59 percent Coloureds, 21.34 percent Africans and 13.62 percent Whites. Of those who said 'low level', 37.74 percent were Indians, 30.19 percent Coloureds, 26.41 percent Africans and 5.66 percent Whites. Of those who said the women functioned at zero level, 50.4 percent were Indians, 37.73 percent Africans, 11.32 percent Coloureds and 0 percent Whites. Significantly, the Indians featured most prominently at all levels and the Whites featured only on a small scale at low level but not all at zero level.

Some important trends emerged from this part of the survey.

3.1. Decision-Making

Ninety six point zero six percent of the women responded to this issue. Of them, 49.25 percent indicated that the women were involved at a high level, 31.72 percent at a medium level, 14.18 percent at a low level and 4.85 percent at zero level. At high and medium levels, the Whites were the most involved (94.74 percent) and the Africans the least (60 percent). The Coloureds were marginally more involved (78.38 percent) than the Indians (77.41 percent). At low levels, the Indians featured most prominently (17.20 percent) and the Whites the least (5.26 percent). The Africans (16.36 percent) and

the Coloureds (13.51 percent) followed the Indians consecutively. Ten point nine zero percent of the Africans, 4.30 percent Indians and 4.05 percent Coloureds functioned at zero level.

At high and medium levels, the primary women dominated but at low and zero levels the secondary women dominated. At high and medium levels, Whites featured more prominently at secondary schools, Coloureds featured at nearly an even keel at primary schools but the Indians and Africans featured more prominently in primary schools. At low levels, Indians, Africans and Coloureds featured more prominently in secondary schools but the Whites only in primary schools. At zero levels, Africans and Coloureds featured more prominently in secondary schools, the Indians featured on an even keel in primary and secondary schools.

To conclude, 95.15 percent of the women indicated that women teachers were involved in decision making at different levels. The most involved were the Whites and the least involved the Africans. It appeared that there is not a single White school where women were not involved in the decision making processes. At the higher levels of decision making, the primary school teachers featured more prominently, confirming the notion that primary school teaching is women's work. (vide A.2. 2. & 8.2.5.4.)

3.2. Leadership

Ninety five point seven zero percent of the women responded to this issue. Of them, 50.56 percent indicated a high level of involvement in leadership at schools, 32.21 percent a medium level, 14.23 percent a low level and 3 percent zero level. At high and medium levels, the Whites featured most prominently (96.49 percent) and the Africans the least (60 percent). The Coloureds (82.43 percent) and Indians (77.41 percent) were marginally behind the Whites. At low levels, the Africans were most prominent (20 percent) and the Whites the least (3.51 percent). The Indians (15.05 percent) and Coloureds (14.86 percent) were marginally behind the Africans. Only Indians and Africans functioned at zero levels. The primary women featured more prominently at high and medium levels but the secondary women at the low levels. Only secondary Black women functioned at zero levels.

In short, Whites featured most prominently and the Africans the least in leadership positions. The Coloureds were marginally better off than the Indians. Whites and Coloureds were better represented in secondary schools and the Africans and Indians in primary schools. The Whites' greater presence in leadership positions confirms by inference the notion that in the White community is largely women's work and that the White women were liberated earlier than their Black counterparts as it was revealed in interviews. (vide 8.2.8.1. & 8.2.8.3.)

3.3. Management

Altogether 96.06 percent of the women responded to this issue. Forty eight point one three percent indicated a high level of involvement, 31.34 percent a medium level, 14.93 percent a low level and 5.60 percent a zero level. Ninety four point seven three percent of the Whites, 77.03 percent Coloureds, 74.19 percent Indians and 60 percent Africans functioned in school management positions at high and medium levels. Eighteen point one eight percent of the Africans, 17.57 percent Coloureds, 16.13 percent Indians and 3.51 percent Whites functioned at low levels. Nine point six eight percent of the Indians, 7.27 percent Africans and 2.70 percent Coloureds functioned at zero levels. At high and low levels of management, the primary women were prominent but at medium levels the secondary women were. But at zero level, there were no primary women.

In conclusion, White women featured most prominently as managers at schools, followed by Coloureds, Indians and Africans consecutively. Most of the women managers were present in the primary schools and all White secondary schools had women managers. This confirms again the claim made by the Black women that the White women gained the vote and better opportunities long before 1994. (vide 8.2.8.1. & 8.2.8.3.)

3.4. Teaching of Maths and Science

Ninety four point nine eight percent of the women responded to the issue. Sixty percent of the women indicated a high level of involvement, 25.28 percent a medium level, 12.07 percent a low level and 2.64 percent zero level. Ninety four point seven four percent of the Whites, 83.78 percent Coloureds, 82.79 percent Indians and 60 percent Africans were involved in the teaching of Maths and Science at high and medium levels. Twenty percent of the Africans, 13.51 percent Coloureds and 11.83 percent Indians were involved at low levels. Five point four five percent of the Africans, 3.23 percent Indians and 1.35 percent Coloureds were involved at zero levels. At high and low levels, a marginally larger proportion of women taught at secondary schools but at medium levels, the majority taught at primary schools. The women who did not teach these subjects at all were from the Indian and African schools. All the White women taught these subjects at high or medium levels.

To conclude, White women were the most involved in the teaching of Maths and Science, especially at higher levels and at secondary schools. The women of the other race groups taught these subjects mostly in the primary schools. It was claimed by the Black women teachers that the higher involvement of the White women in the teaching of Maths and the Sciences is attributable to the fact that higher

education was available to White girl children long before Indians, Coloureds and Africans. (vide 8.2.8.1. & 8.2.8.3.)

3.5. Teaching the Lower Grades

Table 7.26. Involvement in Selected Functions

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
High Level															
3.1	24	17	41	14	6	20	14	17	31	20	20	40	72	60	132
3.2	27	17	44	9	4	13	12	20	32	22	24	46	70	65	135
3.3	30	13	43	12	2	14	14	19	33	21	18	39	77	52	129
3.4	29	24	53	6	10	16	21	21	42	20	28	48	76	83	159
3.5	40	26	66	20	9	29	34	15	49	25	19	44	119	69	188
Total	150	97	247	61	31	92	95	92	187	108	109	217	414	329	743
Medium Level															
3.1	16	15	31	10	3	13	15	12	27	4	10	14	45	40	85
3.2	14	14	28	13	7	20	19	10	29	5	4	9	51	35	86
3.3	14	12	26	9	10	19	14	10	24	4	11	15	41	43	84
3.4	12	12	24	12	5	17	14	6	20	4	2	6	42	25	67
3.5	13	12	25	6	8	14	3	16	19	1	8	9	23	44	67
Total	69	65	134	50	33	83	65	54	119	18	35	53	202	187	389
Low Level															
3.1	7	9	16	3	6	9	4	6	10	3	0	3	17	21	38
3.2	7	7	14	6	5	11	4	7	11	0	2	2	17	21	38
3.3	6	9	15	7	3	10	7	6	13	1	1	2	21	19	40
3.4	5	6	11	8	3	11	2	8	10	0	0	0	15	17	32
3.5	2	2	4	0	1	1	0	4	4	0	2	2	2	9	11
Total	27	33	60	24	18	42	17	31	48	4	5	9	72	87	159
Zero level															
3.1	2	2	4	2	4	6	1	2	3	0	0	0	5	8	13
3.2	0	5	5	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
3.3	0	9	9	0	4	4	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	15	15
3.4	2	1	3	2	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	4	3	7
3.5	3	3	6	3	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	4	10
Total	7	20	27	7	13	20	1	5	6	0	0	0	15	38	53

Ninety eight point nine two percent of the women responded to this issue. Sixty eight point one two

percent indicated a high level of involvement, 24.27 percent a medium level, 3.99 percent a low level and 3.62 percent zero level. At high and medium levels, 97.85 percent of the Indians, 92.98 percent Whites, 91.89 percent Coloureds and 78.18 percent Africans were deployed to teach the lower grades at the schools. At low levels, 5.40 percent Coloureds, 4.30 percent Indians, 3.51 percent Whites and 1.82 percent Africans were used to teach the lower grades. At high levels, most women in primary schools were deployed to teach the lower grades but at medium and low levels, most women were deployed to teach the lower grades in secondary schools.

In all aspects, the Whites appeared to be the most empowered teachers and the Africans the least empowered; the Coloured and Indians were placed somewhere between these extremes. In items 3.1. - 3.3., the Black women featured more prominently in the primary schools but in item 3.5.. women of all race groups taught the lower grades in both the primary and secondary schools. In respect of item 3.4., the White women taught the subjects at higher, even at secondary schools, while the Black women taught them at the lower levels, mostly in at primary schools. (vide A.2..2.)

4. Professional Status : Enhanced or Diminished?

Table 7.27. Status of the Profession

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
To a large extent															
4.1	16	13	29	9	7	16	7	9	16	4	3	7	36	32	68
4.2	13	10	23	5	4	9	3	8	11	0	1	1	21	23	44
4.3	14	14	28	6	3	9	12	10	22	3	9	12	35	36	71
4.4	4	7	11	5	1	6	5	4	9	2	1	3	16	13	29
4.5	8	11	19	4	5	9	2	5	7	1	3	4	15	24	39
Undisclosed	3	1	4	1	2	3	0	0	0	3	1	4	7	4	11
Total	58	56	114	30	22	52	29	36	65	13	18	31	130	132	262
To some extent															
4.1	18	6	24	5	3	8	9	10	19	6	4	10	38	29	67
4.2	11	10	21	6	3	9	8	10	18	3	2	5	28	30	58
4.3	8	7	15	5	5	10	3	6	9	5	2	7	21	18	39
4.4	10	10	20	9	6	15	11	10	21	4	4	8	34	35	69
4.5	13	9	22	7	6	13	11	8	19	2	4	6	33	32	65
Total	60	42	102	32	23	55	42	44	86	20	16	36	154	125	279
To a small extent															
4.1	1	8	9	3	1	4	3	3	6	2	3	5	9	15	24
4.2	11	8	19	6	5	11	5	8	13	4	4	8	26	25	51
4.3	7	1	8	1	4	5	3		3	2	0	2	13	5	18

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
4.4	8	6	14	3	5	8	3	5	8	3	6	9	17	22	39
4.5	8	8	16	8	4	12	7	10	17	2	2	4	25	24	49
Total	35	31	66	21	19	40	21	26	47	13	15	28	90	91	181
Not at all															
4.1	12	13	25	8	5	13	7	12	19	10	14	24	37	44	81
4.2	9	15	24	7	6	13	15	9	24	14	16	30	45	46	91
4.3	13	14	27	8	3	11	8	12	20	5	6	11	34	35	69
4.4	20	19	39	5	7	12	14	15	29	13	13	26	52	54	106
4.5	14	14	28	7	4	11	11	10	21	17	15	32	49	43	92
Total	68	75	143	35	25	60	55	58	113	59	64	123	217	222	439
Unsure															
4.1	0	3	3	0	3	3	2	2	4	0	3	3	2	11	13
4.2	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	3	5	4	5	9
4.3	1	6	7	5	4	9	5	4	9	6	10	16	17	24	41
4.4	0	1	1	4	0	4	0	0	0	1	1	2	5	2	7
4.5	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	2	4
Total	2	12	14	11	8	19	8	6	14	9	18	27	30	44	74

Table 7.27 reflects that 87.81 percent of the women teachers responded to the issues fielded. Approximately, 58 percent of the women said that all the factors affected their professional status, 36 percent said that these factors did not at all affect their status and 6 percent said they were unsure.

In terms of item 4.1., approximately, 62 percent of the women (68 percent of the primary school teachers and 56 percent of the secondary school teachers) indicated that their professional status was diminished to a larger or smaller extent by the lack of motivation to undertake further studies, 33 percent said they were not at all demotivated and 5 percent were unsure. Sixty nine percent of the Indians, 64 percent Africans, 64 percent Coloureds and 45 percent Whites found no motivation to study. But, 28 percent of the Indians, 30 percent Africans, 30 percent Coloureds and 49 percent Whites were not at all demotivated to study. Overall, 30 percent of the primary and 35 percent of secondary school teachers felt this way.

In respect of 4.2., 60 percent of the women felt their status was diminished by the non-recognition of their worth from principals, parents and officials of their worth but 37 percent felt that this factor did not affect them at all and 3 percent were not sure about it. Seventy one percent of the Indians, 66 percent Africans, 64 percent Coloureds and 24 percent Whites felt that this factor diminished their status. On the other hand, 27 percent of the Indians, 29 percent Africans, 36 percent Coloureds and 52 percent Whites said this factor did not at all affect their status.

Thirty percent said that they were empowered to a large extent by the parity in salaries (Item 4.3.) but 24 percent said they were marginally empowered by this factor, 29 percent said that they were not at all empowered and 17 percent were unsure. Overall, 60 percent of the Indians, 54 percent Africans, 54 percent Coloureds and 44 percent Whites felt empowered by the parity in salaries. But, 32 percent of the Indians, 25 percent Africans, 32 percent Coloureds and 23 percent Whites did not at all feel empowered. Moreover, 8 percent of the Indians, 20 percent Africans, 14 percent Coloureds and 33 percent Whites were not sure whether parity empowers them. Significantly, of the unsure teachers, 41 percent were from primary schools and 59 percent from secondary schools. Fifty four percent said that the scant respect they got from learners, parents and officials (Item 4.4.) diminished their status to a larger or smaller extent but 43 percent said that they were not at all affected by this factor and 3 percent were unsure. Fifty three percent of the Indians, 64 percent Africans, 57 percent Coloureds and 42 percent Whites felt their status was diminished by this factor. On the other hand, 46 percent of the Indians, 27 percent Africans, 43 percent Coloureds and 54 percent Whites did not feel that this factor affected their professional status.

In respect of item 4.5., 60 percent said that their status as professionals was diminished by the little job satisfaction they derived but 38 percent thought differently and 2 percent were unsure. Sixty six percent of the Indians, 74 percent Africans, 66 percent Coloureds and 30 percent Whites indicated that this factor diminished their professional status.

However, 33 percent of the Indians, 24 percent Africans, 32 percent Coloureds and 68 percent Whites indicated this factor did not diminish their status. What is significant is that a larger proportion of the Whites seemed to derive satisfaction from teaching as opposed to their Indian, African and Coloured counterparts. (vide 8.2.1.)

In terms of item 4.6., 4.49 percent of the respondents had other inputs to make; all of which have a high level of negativity. The procedural process in the implementation of the R & R resulted in job insecurity; the procedure adopted for promotion of educators caused conflict and aggrievement; the teachers had inadequate knowledge about OBE and the trainers who workshopped the OBE teachers themselves lacked insight and the capacity to handle OBE; the SGBs were undermining the professional status of teachers; some had inadequate teaching experience and others the inability to coach sports such as rugby and cricket presented loss of status.

The majority of the teachers said that all the factors, except item 4.3., diminished their professional status. Parity in salaries improved their status only marginally, however. The negative factors seemed to affect the Black women far more than the White women, but the positive factor (Item 4.3.) affected

the Whites the least. In respect of item 4.6., the respondents cited the poor administration of education by the KZNDEC, especially the handling of the R & R, the most damaging factor

5. Job Satisfaction

Table 7.28. Teacher Morale

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
To a large extent															
5.1	26	23	49	8	14	22	23	21	44	2	7	9	59	65	124
5.2	5	8	13	5	5	10	3	3	6	2	0	2	15	16	31
5.3	26	25	51	15	9	24	28	27	55	2	2	4	71	63	134
5.4	11	10	21	5	10	15	12	14	26	0	0	0	28	34	62
5.5	2	6	8	3	2	5	1	1	2	1	1	2	6	10	16
Undisclosed	2	2	4	2	1	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	5	4	9
Total	72	74	146	38	41	79	67	67	134	7	10	17	184	192	376
To some extent															
5.1	8	10	18	5	2	7	5	8	13	8	10	18	26	30	56
5.2	15	8	23	9	3	12	13	6	19	4	3	7	41	20	61
5.3	18	8	26	5	6	11	3	6	9	4	8	12	30	28	58
5.4	16	10	26	4	7	11	11	10	21	1	5	6	32	32	64
5.5	5	3	8	6	2	8	3	0	3	0	1	1	14	6	20
Undisclosed	0	0	0	1		1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	62	39	101	30	20	50	35	30	65	17	27	44	144	116	260
To a small extent															
5.1	9	6	15	6	1	7	4	6	10	5	7	12	24	20	44
5.2	12	12	24	8	4	12	8	9	17	9	9	18	37	34	71
5.3	1	6	7	3	0	3	2	1	3	9	11	20	15	18	33
5.4	7	15	22	9	0	9	1	6	7	1	10	11	18	31	49
5.5	9	2	11	5	1	6	5	2	7	2	5	7	21	10	31
Undisclosed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	38	41	79	31	6	37	20	24	44	26	42	68	115	113	228
Not at all															
5.1	1	2	3	7	1	8	1	1	2	9	6	15	18	10	28
5.2	10	12	22	6	6	12	8	16	24	9	16	25	33	50	83
5.3	0	2	2	6	4	10	0	2	2	9	8	17	15	16	31
5.4	5	3	8	10	2	12	7	7	14	19	13	32	41	25	66
5.5	24	30	54	15	14	29	22	32	54	21	23	44	82	99	181
Undisclosed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Total	40	49	89	44	27	71	38	58	96	68	66	134	190	200	390
Unsure															
5.1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
5.2	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
5.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.4	2	2	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	5	2	7
5.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	3	5	2	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	2	6	5	11

Table 7.28 reflects an 89.96 percent response to the issues. Approximately, 68.10 percent of the women indicated that items 5.1. - 5.5. did affect their jobs negatively, 31.02 percent indicated these factors did not affect them and 0.88 percent were not sure. The teachers affected negatively by items 5.1.-5.5. comprised : Indians 37.70 percent; Africans 18.97 percent Coloureds 28.22 percent ; Whites 15.11 percent. Items 5.1.-5.5. appeared to affect 29.97 percent of the women to a large extent, 20.65 percent to some extent and 18.18 percent to a small extent. The women in category 1 found the most serious problems in the following areas : student discipline. and their negative attitude to work (33.78 percent); heavy workload (large classes. etc) (36.51 percent); poor examination results (16.62 percent). Significantly, the Whites were not affected by poor examination results. (item 5.4.)

The women in category 2, experienced the following factors in the main: the indiscipline of students and their negative attitude to work (21.62 percent); prescription of teaching methods (23.55 percent); heavy workload (22.39 percent); poor examination results (24.71 percent). The women in category 3 comprised between 13 percent to 19 percent on a fairly even keel in all the factors as in category 2, except the prescription of teaching methods (31.14 percent). The Whites were marginally affected by all the factors, even the burning issues such as large class sizes and poor examination results.(vide 8.2.1.)

In category 4, the teachers were the least affected by items 5.4. and 5.5. It is significant that the Whites were the least affected by poor examination results. (Item 5.4.) It is also significant that in category 5, 63.64 percent of the women were not sure if poor examination results caused job dissatisfaction for them.

Nine of the women (3.58 percent) cited the following factors which made teaching an unsatisfying job: the lack of resources; too much red-tape and prescription, no motivation or support services for teaching from the management staff; appreciation and respect from learners, parents and education officials; no involvement of or assistance from the parents in the learning process of their children.

All five items diminished job satisfaction for the teachers, albeit at varying degrees. The teachers who derived the most satisfaction from teaching were the Whites and the Indians derived the least. The major problems facing the teachers were : learners' indiscipline and bad attitude to schoolwork; large class sizes and heavy workloads; poor examination results. Significantly, the poor examination results affected the Whites to a very small extent.

6. Job Security

Table 7.29. Job Security

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
To a large extent															
6.1	35	25	60	22	17	39	22	19	41	6	8	14	85	69	154
6.2	32	24	56	17	15	32	23	21	44	10	8	18	82	68	150
6.3	25	26	51	22	12	34	21	20	41	8	15	23	76	73	149
6.4	19	12	31	10	11	21	15	15	30	3	3	6	47	41	88
6.5	34	27	61	19	11	30	28	27	55	10	13	23	91	78	169
Undisclosed	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	3	3	0	5	5
Total	145	114	259	90	67	157	109	103	212	37	50	87	381	334	715
To some extent															
6.1	4	8	12	4	1	5	2	8	10	7	5	12	17	22	39
6.2	6	5	11	8	3	11	5	12	17	6	9	15	25	29	54
6.3	9	5	14	4	4	8	6	5	11	5	2	7	24	16	40
6.4	10	8	18	5	3	8	7	5	12	1	2	3	23	18	41
6.5	4	1	5	2	5	7	3	7	10	5	8	13	14	21	35
Undisclosed	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	33	27	60	24	16	40	23	37	60	24	26	50	104	106	210
To a small extent															
6.1	2	2	4	2	0	2	3	4	7	4	4	8	11	10	21
6.2	1	6	7	1	0	1	1	2	3	2	2	4	5	10	15
6.3	2	2	4	2	1	3	1	3	4	1	1	2	6	7	13
6.4	5	4	9	3	2	5	2	3	5	5	1	6	15	10	25
6.5	1	4	5	4	2	6	1	0	1	2	2	4	8	8	16
Undisclosed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
Total	11	18	29	12	5	17	8	12	20	14	11	25	45	46	91
Not at all															
6.1	4	1	5	0	1	1	4	3	7	4	9	13	12	14	26
6.2	3	1	4	2	1	3	2	1	3	3	7	10	10	10	20
6.3	6	3	9	0	2	2	3	3	6	5	7	12	14	15	29
6.4	5	7	12	6	0	6	5	7	12	11	14	25	27	28	55
6.5	2	1	3	0	1	1	0	1	1	4	2	6	6	5	11
Undisclosed	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	2
Total	20	13	33	8	5	13	15	15	30	28	39	67	71	72	143
Unsure															
6.1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	3
6.2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
6.3	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	1	3	3	6
6.4	3	4	7	5	3	8	1	4	5	1	4	5	10	15	25
6.5	1	3	4	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	9
Total	5	10	15	12	3	15	1	7	8	2	4	6	20	24	44

Table 7.29 reflects an (approximately) 86 percent response from women teachers on this issue.

Eighty four point five one percent of the respondents agreed to a larger or smaller extent that the

factors fielded caused them to feel insecure in their jobs. Three point six eight percent were unsure but 11.81 percent said these factors did not at all make them feel insecure.

In categories 1-3, 70.37 percent of the teachers were affected to a large extent, 20.71 percent to some extent and 8.92 percent to a small extent. Fifty three point six six percent of the teachers in category 1 were from the primary schools. To this category of teachers the greatest threat was the reduction of benefits, followed by the R & R policies, the vacillating policies of the KZNDEC, and temporary employment.

The teachers in category 2 found all the above factors except the instability in the administration threatening more or less to the same extent. The teachers in category 3 experienced these threats more or less to the same extent except the R & R and the threat of unsolicited transfer. In category 4, only 4.60 percent of the women indicated they were not affected by the threat of service benefit reduction. (Item 6.5.)

The most threatened of the teachers were the Indians (35 percent) and the Coloureds (29 percent) and the least threatened were the Whites (15 percent). Of those not at all threatened, 47 percent were Whites, 23 percent Indians, 21 percent Coloureds and 9 percent Africans. Overall, the Whites were the least threatened by these factors.

The majority of the teachers unsure of any threat to their jobs were the Indians and Africans. 34 percent in each group. Of all the teachers, 57 percent were unsure about being transferred to a school far away from home.

A small proportion of the respondents (2.09 percent) had other things to say. Some felt unsure because they were employed by the SGBs and not the Govt; some found the work environment unstable because too many changes were taking place; some were unsure of the health of the GSPF; some found difficulty in gaining permanent status.

Finally, the three areas of concern for the teachers were the threat of reduction in service benefits, the KZNDEC's R & R policies and its vacillating policies. The combination of these factors made the work environment insecure and unstable.

7. Empowering Changes

Table 7.30. Level of Empowerment

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
To a large extent															
7.1	22	19	41	11	6	17	23	22	45	6	13	19	62	60	122
7.2	11	8	19	14	6	20	5	7	12	1	1	2	31	22	53
7.3	17	15	32	7	9	16	15	11	26	5	11	16	44	46	90
7.4	17	19	36	9	8	17	10	15	25	7	14	21	43	56	99
7.5	24	25	49	9	11	20	20	19	39	9	16	25	62	71	133
Undisclosed	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	91	86	177	50	41	91	73	74	147	28	55	83	242	256	498
To some extent															
7.1	13	7	20	7	8	15	7	5	12	7	6	13	34	26	60
7.2	6	6	12	9	6	15	4	9	13	1	3	4	20	24	44
7.3	14	13	27	9	3	12	12	10	22	5	3	8	40	29	69
7.4	14	10	24	5	6	11	8	4	12	7	6	13	34	26	60
7.5	7	8	15	7	3	10	6	7	13	4	3	7	24	21	45
Undisclosed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	54	44	98	37	26	63	37	35	72	24	21	45	152	126	278
To a small extent															
7.1	5	5	10	4	2	6		2	2	2	4	6	11	13	24
7.2	10	5	15		2	2	8	5	13	1	2	3	19	14	33
7.3	5	5	10	3	4	7	1	5	6	4	4	8	13	18	31
7.4	1	2	3	4		4	2	4	6	1	0	1	8	6	14
7.5	1	3	4	2	1	3	3	2	5	1	1	2	7	7	14
Undisclosed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	22	20	42	13	9	22	14	18	32	9	11	20	58	58	116
Not at all															
7.1	2	4	6	3	1	4	2	5	7	2	3	5	9	13	22
7.2	16	19	35	2	3	5	15	16	31	14	21	35	47	59	106
7.3	4	4	8	1	0	1	3	3	6	3	6	9	11	13	24
7.4	4	4	8	2	0	2	6	7	13	1	2	3	13	13	26
7.5	5	1	6	2	0	2	2	4	6	3	2	5	12	7	19
Total	31	32	63	10	4	14	28	35	63	23	34	57	92	105	197
Unsure															
7.1	1	4	5	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	3	4	6	10
7.2	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	2	0	2	4	2	6
7.3	2	2	4	4	2	6	1	6	7	1	2	3	8	12	20
7.4	5	3	8	6	4	10	4	5	9	2	3	5	17	15	32
7.5	2	3	5	5	3	8	2	3	5	1	4	5	10	13	23
Total	10	13	23	17	11	28	8	14	22	8	10	18	43	48	91

Table 7.30 reflects an overall response of 84.58 percent. Approximately 75 percent of the women indicated that they were empowered to a larger or smaller extent by the changes taking place but 17 percent did not feel empowered and 8 percent were not sure.

Fifty five point seven eight percent felt empowered to a large extent, 31.20 percent to some extent and 13.02 percent to a small extent. The women in category 1 comprised : 35 percent Indians, 18 percent Africans, 30 percent Coloureds and 17 percent Whites. The most empowering change was the ability to leave their pension benefits to their husbands or dependents upon death.(Item 7.5.) The second most empowering aspect was the fact that service benefits were now the same for male and female teachers. (Item 7.1.) That it is now easier for women to get promotion as a result of affirmative action (Item 7.2.) was the least empowering factor to most women, especially the Whites (Only 4 percent of the Whites responded positively to this suggestion.) However, 18 percent of those who conceded that unfair labour practices could be taken to court for redress (Item 7.3) were Whites but they were not as optimistic as the Coloureds and Indians. On the whole, the secondary teachers were slightly more optimistic about the changes than the primary teachers, especially the Whites.

The women in category 2 pitched their optimism between 16 percent and 25 percent. Here again the Indians were the most optimistic and the Whites the least. The primary teachers were more optimistic than the secondary teachers. Most teachers found the access to courts for redress in labour disputes most empowering and the entitlement to the same benefits as males and the ability to leave their pension benefits to spouses or dependents came second to this.

The teachers in category 3 were divided in their opinions on empowerment as 76 percent of them found items 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 more empowering than items 7.4 and 7.5. Contrary to the teachers in the previous two categories, the primary and secondary school teachers were equally divided in their opinions overall. There were other contradictions also. First, the majority (28.45 percent) in this category found affirmative action (Item 7.2) most empowering. Second, the respondents in category 2 found item 7.5 the least empowering as opposed to the respondents in category 1.

The women in category 4 comprised 17 percent of the respondents. The majority of them (53.8 percent) found affirmative action (item 7.2) the most disempowering factor. Ninety five percent of these women were the Indians, Coloureds and Whites. In fact, these women who comprised 92.89 percent of the respondents in category 4 found all the items (7.1- 7.5) not to be empowering at all.

The responses to category 5, reveals that those who were unsure of empowerment comprised: Africans

31 percent; Indians 25 percent; Coloureds 24 percent; Whites 20 percent. Eighty four point four two percent of the teachers were unsure of the benefits suggested in items 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5. The numerical difference in the opinions of secondary and primary school teachers is marginal (5.49 percent), but it is significant that more of the secondary teachers were unsure if they were empowered by the changes.

In summary, most of the women were aware of women's empowerment in the new dispensation. From their point of view, the most significant empowering changes were: the ability to leave pension benefits to their spouses or dependents; receiving the same service benefits as males; and the chances of redress in court for unfair labour practices. Significantly, getting promotion through affirmative action did not feature highly as empowerment, especially among Whites. Women were sceptical about the pension benefits in spite of contributing the same amount as men.

8. What's the Stress Level like?

Table 7.31. Stress Levels

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
To a large extent															
8.1	31	28	59	11	9	20	26	26	52	12	16	28	80	79	159
8.2	22	17	39	9	8	17	7	14	21	3	5	8	41	44	85
8.3	17	18	35	11	5	16	23	13	36	2	5	7	53	41	94
8.4	18	15	33	10	6	16	14	17	31	1	4	5	43	42	85
8.5	18	11	29	6	7	13	11	8	19	3	2	5	38	28	66
Undisclosed	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	3	4
Total	107	91	198	47	35	82	81	79	160	21	32	53	256	237	493
To some extent															
8.1	7	6	13	6	6	12	3	5	8	3	9	12	19	26	45
8.2	13	8	21	6	5	11	9	9	18	8	9	17	36	31	67
8.3	12	10	22	8	3	11	5	17	22	7	9	16	32	39	71
8.4	12	14	26	6	7	13	14	9	23	5	6	11	37	36	73
8.5	10	17	27	9	4	13	10	14	24	4	6	10	33	41	74
Undisclosed	0	0	0	9	0	9	0	0	0	0	1	1	9	1	10
Total	54	55	109	44	25	69	41	54	95	27	40	67	166	174	340
To a small extent															
8.1	3	2	5	5	1	6	0	3	3	3	1	4	11	7	18
8.2	3	6	9	3	2	5	7	6	13	3	2	5	16	16	32
8.3	10	3	13	4	3	7	4	1	5	8	9	17	26	16	42
8.4	8	9	17	2	2	4	2	5	7	4	10	14	16	26	42
8.5	11	4	15	6	4	10	4	8	12	6	7	13	27	23	50
Total	35	24	59	20	12	32	17	23	40	24	29	53	96	88	184
Not at all															
8.1	3	2	5	0	2	2	4	1	5	3	2	5	10	7	17

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
8.2	4	6	10	4	3	7	9	6	15	7	12	19	24	27	51
8.3	2	8	10	4	6	10	1	3	4	4	5	9	11	22	33
8.4	2	1	3	3	2	5	2	4	6	9	7	16	16	14	30
8.5	2	6	8	2	3	5	7	5	12	8	13	21	19	27	46
Total	13	23	36	13	16	29	23	19	42	31	39	70	80	97	177
Unsure															
8.1	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	2	4
8.2	1	2	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	2	5
8.3	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	3
8.4	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	4	5	3	8
8.5	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	2
Total	3	5	8	4	2	6	0	0	0	7	1	8	14	8	22

Table 7.31 reflects response rate of 86 percent. Eighty three percent of the women who responded to the suggestions in items 8.1 - 8.5 were affected by the factors to a larger or smaller extent. 15 percent were not at all affected and 2 percent were unsure.

Forty eight point seven five percent of the women were affected to a large extent, 32.90 percent of them were affected to some extent and 18.35 percent were affected to a small extent. In category 1, 32.51 percent of the women found the multiple-role factor (Item 8.1.) the most stressing for them. The second most important factor was the heavy workload (Item 8.3.), which attracted 19 percent of responses. Items 8.2 and 8.4 attracted equal responses (17.38 percent each) and the disrespect and low teacher morale (Item 8.5.) attracted 13.50 percent response. The most stressed out women appeared to be the Indians (40.49 percent), followed by the Coloureds (32.72 percent); the less stressed out were the Africans (17 percent) and the least stressed out appear to be the Whites (10.8 percent). Amongst all the groups except the Whites, the primary school teachers appeared to be more stressed than the secondary school teachers. The biggest disparities in the levels of stress appeared in items 8.3 and 8.5, wherein, the primary school teachers suffered more from teaching large classes and disrespect from learners, male colleagues, parents and officials.

In category 2, items 8.2, 8.3, 8.4 and 8.5 affected the women on a fairly even keel and item 8.1 affected them the least. The most affected teachers were the Indians, followed by the Coloureds but the Africans and Whites were almost on an even keel. More of the secondary school teachers were prone to stress but the disparity was marginal.

In category 3, similar to category 2, the biggest stress factor appeared to be disrespect, (Item 8.5) and the least is the multi-role factor (Item 8.1). All the other factors affected the women's stress levels

fairly evenly. The most affected women were the Indians, followed by Whites and Coloureds, and the least affected were the Africans.

In category 4, the least stressed out women appeared to be the Whites as they comprised 39.54 percent of the respondents to items 8.1 to 8.5. The most positive thing to emerge in this category is that the male attitude to their work (item 8.2) did not appear to be negative but the least positive aspect was the multiple-role factor (Item 8.1.), which confirms what emerged in the same item in category 1 above. The secondary school teachers appeared to be less stressed than the primary school teachers, which confirms what emerged in categories 1 and 3.

Only 2 percent of the respondents were unsure if these factors caused stress to them. Their non-response indicates that the Coloured teachers were the only confident teachers in this respect. 63.64 percent in category 5 were primary school teachers. Significantly, of those unsure about the accountability for learners' examination results, 62.5 percent were primary teachers.

To conclude, all the factors caused stress to teachers to varying extents. The most serious stress factor was the multiple-role factor, which was aggravated by the challenging workloads presently at schools. Added to all this was the scant respect shown to them by all stakeholders in education.

9. Oppression and the Professional Teacher

Table 7.32. Oppression & the Professional Teacher

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Strongly Agreed															
9.1	25	19	44	4	7	11	14	13	27	4	10	14	47	49	96
9.2	11	12	23	3	8	11	6	10	16	0	10	10	20	40	60
9.3	7	13	20	8	4	12	1	7	8	10	1	2	17	25	42
9.4	12	6	18	6	4	10	3	3	6	0	2	2	21	15	36
9.5	1	1	2	2	2	4	2	2	4	10	2	3	6	7	13
9.6.	0	1	1	3	2	5	2	1	3	0	2	2	5	6	11
Total	56	52	108	26	27	53	28	36	64	6	27	33	116	142	258
Agreed															
9.1	12	14	26	10	3	13	13	13	26	10	13	23	45	43	88
9.2	22	14	36	4	4	8	14	14	28	14	10	24	54	42	96
9.3	12	10	22	8	4	12	13	10	23	4	4	8	37	28	65
9.4	9	13	22	10	2	12	10	4	14	1	2	3	30	21	51
9.5	1	2	3	5	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	4	10
9.6.	1	5	6	1	2	3	4	2	6	2	1	3	8	10	18
Total	57	58	115	38	16	54	54	43	97	31	31	62	180	148	328

	Indians			Africans			Coloureds			Whites			Final Total		
	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T	PS	SS	T
Disagreed															
9.1	5	2	7	12	4	16	4	7	11	3	4	7	24	17	41
9.2	5	5	10	15	4	19	7	3	10	5	4	9	32	16	48
9.3	16	14	30	8	6	14	11	14	25	12	22	34	47	56	103
9.4	20	11	31	12	9	21	11	18	29	14	15	29	57	53	110
9.5	14	14	28	7	9	16	16	12	28	11	12	23	48	47	95
9.6.	16	14	30	8	8	16	15	13	28	12	14	26	51	49	100
Total	76	60	136	62	40	102	64	67	131	57	71	128	259	238	497
Strongly Disagreed															
9.1	2	5	7	1	1	2	2	0	2	4	1	5	9	7	16
9.2	5	7	12	8	1	9	2	1	3	3	4	7	18	13	31
9.3	3	5	8	4	3	7	7	5	12	5	3	8	19	16	35
9.4	2	3	5	2	2	4	4	4	8	9	5	14	17	14	31
9.5	27	27	54	8	5	13	16	22	38	13	14	27	64	68	132
9.6.	25	18	43	10	4	14	10	5	15	7	7	14	52	34	86
Total	64	65	129	33	16	49	41	37	78	41	34	75	179	152	331
Unsure															
9.1	2	3	5	2	3	5	0	2	2	4	2	6	8	10	18
9.2	3	5	8	0	1	1	5	5	10	3	2	5	11	13	24
9.3	6	2	8	0	1	1	2	0	2	4	0	4	12	3	15
9.4	3	9	12	0	1	1	6	7	13	2	6	8	11	23	34
9.5	1	0	1	6		6	1	0	1	1	1	2	9	1	10
9.6.	4	6	10	7	2	9	3	14	17	5	6	11	19	28	47
Total	19	25	44	15	8	23	17	28	45	19	17	36	70	78	148

Table 7.32 reflects that 93.31 percent of the women responded to items 9.1.-9.6. in respect oppression and professional status of women teachers. Of them, 16.52 percent strongly agreed with the statements, 21 percent agreed, 31.82 percent disagreed, 21.19 percent strongly disagreed and 9.47 percent were unsure.

The percentage of women teachers who responded to each item in each category is presented. To item 9.1, 37.06 percent strongly agreed, 33.98 percent agreed, 15.83 percent disagreed, 6.18 percent strongly disagreed and 6.95 percent were unsure. In categories 1 and 2, 71.04 percent of the women agreed that the present (breed of) women teachers appeared, by not relinquishing any of their multiple roles, to be provoking a cultural change. (vide 8.2.5.3.) The women who felt most strongly about this change were the Indians, (38.04 percent) followed by the Coloureds (28.80 percent) whereas only 20.11 percent of the Whites and 13.05 percent Africans felt this way. But in categories 3 and 4, only 22.01 percent disputed this. In category 5, 6.95 percent were unsure if this cultural change was taking place.

The majority of the women indicated that their careers and their other roles were compatible and manageable. This sentiment was expressed more by the Indians and Coloureds than the Whites and Africans. The women, especially the newly liberated ones, while undergoing transformation as career women were still cleaving to traditional roles and values. (vide 8.2.5.3. & 8.2.5.1.)

In respect of item 9.2, 23.17 percent strongly agreed, 37.06 percent agreed, 18.53 percent disagreed, 11.97 percent strongly disagreed and 9.27 percent were unsure. In category 1, there was a great disparity between primary and secondary school teachers, with 66.67 percent of the respondents being secondary school teachers. The striking features of this disparity were: the Indians were almost evenly divided; of the secondary school teachers who agreed strongly were: 73 percent of the Africans, 62 percent of the Coloureds and 100 percent of the Whites. On the whole, the largest proportion of responses came from Indians (38.33 percent), followed by Coloureds (26.67 percent) and the disparity between the responses from Africans (18.33 percent) and Whites (16.67 percent) was marginal. In category 2, 37.06 percent responded. The highest responses were from Indians (37.50 percent), followed by the Coloureds (29.17 percent), Whites (25 percent) and Africans (8.33 percent). As in category 1, there was not a significant disparity between the responses of primary and secondary school teachers, but with 56.25 percent coming from primary school teachers. In fact there was no disparity among Africans and Coloureds, but among Indians and Whites, the larger proportion of responses came from primary school teachers, 61 percent and 58 percent respectively.

In category 3, 18.53 percent responded. The disparity between primary and secondary school teachers was in the ratio of 2:1. The largest proportions of responses came from Africans (39.58 percent), followed by Indians and Coloureds (each 20.83 percent), and Whites (18.75 percent). The African responses were significant. In category 4, there were 11.97 percent responses and the disparity between primary and secondary school teachers was 16.13 percent. The responses were as follows: Indians 38.71 percent, Africans 29.03 percent, Whites 22.58 percent and Coloureds 9.68 percent. More of the Indian and White secondary school teachers disagreed strongly while the African and Coloured primary school teachers felt differently.

In category 5, 9.27 percent were unsure. The least of the unsure teachers were the Africans (4.17 percent). On the other hand, the most unsure were the Coloureds (41.67 percent), followed by Indians (33.33 percent) and Whites (20.83 percent). The disparity between primary and secondary school teachers was marginal, approximately 8 percent.

Sixty point two three percent of the women were of the opinion that the suggestions in 9.2. would enable women teachers to work more freely. The teachers most in agreement were the Indians (37

percent) and the least were the Africans (12 percent); the Coloureds were between these extremes, whereas only half of the Whites agreed. Birth control appeared to have a marginal effect on African women probably because of the culture of having many children. (vide 8.2.7.2.2.)

In respect of item 9.3, 16.15 percent strongly agreed, 25 percent agreed, 39.61 percent disagreed, 13.46 percent strongly disagreed and 5.78 percent were unsure. Categorically, 41.15 percent agreed and 53.08 percent disagreed. In category 1, there was a disparity of 19 percent between the responses of the primary and secondary school teachers. Of all the respondents, 47.62 percent were Indians, 28.57 percent Africans, 19.05 percent Coloureds and 4.76 percent Whites. In category 2, 56.92 percent of the women were from primary schools. As in category 1 above, the proportion of primary school Africans was 66.67 percent, but among Whites there was no disparity between primary and secondary school teachers in both categories. However in both categories, the proportion of respondents were as follows: Indians 39.25 percent, Coloureds 28.97 percent, Africans 22.43 percent and Whites 9.35 percent. In category 3, 33.01 percent were Whites, 29.13 percent Indians, Coloureds 24.27 percent and Africans 13.59 percent. Overall, 54.37 percent were secondary school teachers but among the Indians and Africans the greater proportion of the primary school teachers disagreed. In category 4, however, 54.28 percent of the women were from the primary schools and the larger proportion of them were Africans, Coloureds and Whites. Overall, the percentage of respondents in both categories 3 and 4 were: Indians 27.54 percent, Africans 15.22 percent, Coloureds 26.81 percent and Whites 30.43 percent. The acceptance of women by men on equal terms appeared to be most prevalent in White schools and least prevalent in African schools. Of the women in category 5, 80 percent were primary teachers and of these 50 percent were Indians, 16.67 percent Coloureds and 33.33 percent Whites. Compared to their counterparts in the other race groups, the Africans were very sure of their status.

Fifty three point zero eight percent of the women indicated that the men accepted the women teachers as equals. The teachers who felt this mostly were the Indians (39.25 percent) and the least were the Whites (9.34 percent). The Coloured and African teachers were evenly divided between agreement and disagreement. These opinions resurfaced in the conversations with the women. (vide 8.2.7.2.1.)

In terms of item 9.4, 14.28 percent strongly agreed, 16.27 percent agreed, 43.65 percent disagreed, 12.36 percent strongly disagreed and 13.49 percent were unsure. In category 1, 50 percent were Indians, 27.78 percent Africans, 16.67 percent Coloureds and 5.55 percent Whites. Of the respondents 58.33 percent were primary school teachers and of these 57.14 percent were Indians, 28.58 percent Africans, 14.28 percent Coloureds and 0 percent Whites. In category 2, 43.14 percent were Indians, 23.53 percent Africans, 27.45 percent Coloureds and 5.88 percent Whites. Of them 58.82 percent

were primary school teachers, but among Indians and Whites the majority came from the secondary schools, 59.09 percent and 66.67 percent respectively. In category 3, the respondents were as follows: Indians 28.18 percent, Africans 19.10 percent, Coloureds and Whites 26.36 percent each. The disparity between primary and secondary school teachers was marginal, approximately 3.64 percent. Among the primary school teachers Indians and Africans featured more prominently (64.51 percent and 57.14 percent respectively) and among secondary school teachers, Coloureds and Whites featured more prominently (62.07 percent and 51.72 percent respectively).

In category 4, the respondents were: Whites 45.16 percent, Coloureds 25.81 percent, Indians 16.13 percent and Africans 12.90 percent. The majority were primary school teachers but the disparity was only 9.68 percent. The majority of the primary school teachers were Whites (52.94 percent). In category 5, the respondents were as follows: Indians 35.29 percent, Africans 2.94 percent, Coloureds 38.24 percent and Whites 23.53 percent. Of the respondents, 67.65 percent were secondary school teachers and there was 0 percent response from African primary school teachers.

Most of the women did not feel that the women principals mimicked the men principals and oppressed the women teachers. Most of the disagreements came from the Whites and the least from the Africans. The Coloured and Indians were evenly divided. However, the larger proportion of the Indian and African respondents felt that the situation existed in schools to some extent. Shayi (1996) found evidence of this in African schools in Eastern Cape.

In respect of item 9.5, 5 percent strongly agreed, 3.85 percent agreed, 36.53 percent disagreed, 50.77 percent strongly disagreed and 3.85 percent were unsure. In category 1, the respondents were as follows: Indians 15.38 percent, Africans and Coloureds 30.77 percent each and Whites 23.08 percent. The disparity between primary and secondary school teachers was marginal (7.69 percent). In category 2, the respondents were: Indians 30 percent, Africans 60 percent, Coloureds 0 percent and Whites 10 percent, and of them, 60 percent were primary school teachers. In category 3, the respondents were as follows: Indians 29.47 percent, Africans 16.84 percent, Coloureds 29.47 percent and Whites 24.22 percent. The disparity between primary and secondary school teachers was marginal, (1.05 percent) and the biggest disparity was among Coloureds (14.29 percent). In category 4, the responses were as follows: Indians 40.19 percent, Africans 9.85 percent, Coloureds 28.79 percent and Whites 20.45 percent. The disparity between primary and secondary school teachers was marginal (3.03 percent) and the bigger disparities were between the African schools (23.08 percent) and Coloured schools (15.78 percent). Significant among the Coloureds was that the majority who disagreed (57.14 percent) were primary school teachers and the majority who strongly disagreed (57.87 percent) were secondary school teachers. In category 5, the majority (90 percent) of those who were

unsure were the primary school teachers, and 66.67 percent of them were Africans.

Eighty seven point three zero percent of the women opposed the proposition. This is understandable as the majority of the respondents were or had been married or living with partners. The disagreements came evenly from all the race groups. However, of the unsure teachers, 60 percent were the Africans, all primary school teachers.

In respect of item 9.6, 4.20 percent strongly agreed, 6.87 percent agreed, 38.17 percent disagreed, 32.82 percent strongly disagreed and 17.94 percent were unsure. In category 1, 9.09 percent were Indians, 45.45 percent Africans, 27.28 percent Coloureds and 18.18 percent Whites. The disparity between primary and secondary school teachers was 9.09 percent and there were no Indian or Coloured primary school teachers in this category. In category 2, 33.33 percent were Indians, 16.67 percent Africans, 33.33 percent Coloureds and 16.67 percent Whites. The disparity between primary and secondary school teachers was 11.11 percent. The greater proportion of primary school teachers were among the Coloureds and Whites (66.66 percent each). On the other hand, there was greater response from Indian and African secondary school teachers (83 percent and 67 percent respectively). In category 3, 30 percent were Indians, 16 percent Africans, 28 percent Coloureds and 26 percent Whites. The disparity between primary and secondary school teachers was 2 percent. There was a greater proportion of primary school teachers among Indians and Coloureds (53.33 percent and 53.57 percent respectively), a greater proportion of secondary school teachers among Whites (53.85 percent) and among Africans the proportion was even. In category 4, 50 percent were Indians, 16.28 percent Africans, 17.44 percent Coloureds and 16.28 percent Whites. The greater proportion of the respondents (60.46 percent) were primary school teachers but only among Whites the ratio was even. In category 5, 21.28 percent were Indians, 19.15 percent Africans, 36.17 percent Coloureds and 23.40 percent Whites. The majority of the secondary school teachers (59.57 percent) were unsure, but the greater proportion of the unsure Africans (77.78 percent) were from the primary schools.

Seventy point nine nine percent of the respondents indicated this practice was uncommon. All race groups were fairly evenly divided. However, quite a few women, mostly Coloureds, were unaware of this practice.

10.

Housing Subsidy

Table 7.33. Recipients/Non-recipients

Housing subsidy	Total	Yes				No			
		P	S	T	%	P	S	T	%
Indians	91	20	14	34	37.36%	27	30	57	62.64%
Africans	49	14	6	20	40.82%	17	12	29	59.18%
Coloureds	74	16	16	32	43.24%	21	21	42	56.76%
Whites	54	6	6	12	22.22%	19	23	42	77.78%
Total	268	56	42	98	36.57%	84	86	170	63.43%

Of the respondents, 63.43 percent did not receive a state housing subsidy. Of the recipients, 33.54 percent were Indians, 17.06 percent Africans, 24.70 percent Coloureds and 24.70 percent Whites.

The Indians comprised the largest majority of the non-recipient women. They had different reasons for non-receipt of subsidies: about 33.33 percent indicated their spouses received subsidies, 15.78 percent did not own houses; 15.79 percent held temporary posts and therefore, did not qualify; 8.77 percent were not employed by the State.

The Coloureds and Whites comprised the next large proportion of the non-recipients. The Coloureds cited the following reasons for non-receipt: 19.05 percent indicated their husbands received subsidies; 11.90 percent did not own houses; 9.52 percent held temporary posts and did not qualify for subsidies, 7.14 percent owned free- hold properties; 4.76 percent indicated their husbands bought the houses.

The White women had similar reasons for non-receipt: 11.90 percent indicated their husbands received subsidies; 11.90 percent owned free-hold properties; 7.14 percent did not own houses; 9.52 percent held temporary posts; 35.71 percent were not state employees; and 2.38 percent indicated spouses bought the houses.

The African gave reasons similar to the above but also other reasons peculiar to their communities: 24.14 percent indicated their husbands received subsidies; 6.90 percent owned free-hold properties; 6.90 percent did not own houses; 6.90 percent lived in rural areas where conditions did not apply; 3.45 percent were unaware of subsidies; 6.90 percent did not know how to apply; 3.45 percent held temporary jobs and do not qualify; 6.90 percent were not state employees; 6.90 percent indicated their husbands paid for the houses.

11. Pensions

Table 7.34. Financial Security in Old Age

Pensions	Total	Yes				No				Unsure			
		PS	SS	T	%	PS	SS	T	%	PS	SS	T	%
Indians	90	19	14	33	36.67%	23	30	53	58.89%	3	1	4	4.44%
Africans	48	13	10	23	47.92%	17	8	25	52.08%	0	0	0	0.00%
Coloureds	70	18	17	35	50.00%	17	14	31	44.29%	1	3	4	5.71%
Whites	54	13	9	22	40.74%	10	16	26	48.15%	1	5	6	11.11%
Total	262	63	50	113	43.13%	67	68	135	51.53%	5	9	14	5.34%

Significantly, 51.34 percent of the respondents did not feel that they would be financially secure in old age and 5.36 percent were not sure of the future. Of the women who felt financially insecure, 38.80 percent were Indians,; 23.13 percent Coloureds; 19.40 percent Whites and 18.66 percent Africans; and of the 'unsure' women, 42.86 percent were Whites, 28.57 percent Indians and 28.57 percent Coloureds. Both categories of women gave similar reasons for their financial uncertainty in old age.

Of the Indians, 13.46 percent said that the KZNDEC's R & R policies were a real threat to their jobs and the accompanying loss of pension benefits; 19.23 percent were sceptical about the financial situations in the country and the status of the GSPF; 15.38 percent were uncertain about pension payouts; 15.38 percent felt that the present salaries were not inflation linked, making it very difficult to save for old age; 5.77 percent said that their temporary service and insufficient number or years of service would affect pension payouts adversely. (vide 8.2.6.2.)

The Coloured women had similar concerns but their emphases were slightly different: only 3.22 percent were concerned about job security; 51.61 percent felt that salaries were low and not inflation linked, making it impossible to save; 16.13 percent felt that their temporary and interrupted service would adversely affect pension payouts; 32.25 percent were uncertain about the health of the country's economy and the status of the pension fund; 17.31 percent said that investments were under threat and 3.22 percent said that the cost of their children's education was high and this would erode their resources.

The White women's reasons were quite similar to the Coloured women's: only 3.85 percent suffered/feared job insecurity; 34.61 percent said that the salaries were low, not inflation linked and therefore it was impossible to save,; 3.85 percent said that taxation was high; 7.69 percent felt the health of the pension fund appeared not to be sound; 3.85 percent said they did not have adequate

pensionable service because of interruptions caused by marriage; 3.85 percent felt that the pension payouts would be meagre and 3.85 percent said that the high cost of their children's education would increase the problem.

The women who indicated that they would not be financially secure in their old age (43.30 percent), were largely sceptical about GSPF and some of them appear not to have adequate pensionable service. Therefore, they had taken contingency measures, in that they were investing in retirement annuities, insurance policies, etc.

The women, 5.36 percent of the respondents, who were unsure about their financial position in old age did not have any faith in the GSPF and some said that the prevailing feeling of job insecurity filled them with serious doubts. The African women did not indicate that they were unsure of their financial position in old age.

12. Gendered Allocation of Work

Table 7.35. Practice of Sexual Division of Labour at Schools

Allocation of Work	Total	Yes				No				Unsure			
		PS	SS	T	%	PS	SS	T	%	PS	SS	T	%
Indians	90	3	3	6	6.67%	44	40	84	93.33%	0	0	0	0.00%
Africans	49	5	2	7	14.29%	26	16	42	85.71%	0	0	0	0.00%
Coloureds	71	1	1	2	2.82%	34	34	68	95.77%	0	1	1	1.41%
Whites	54	3	0	3	5.56%	20	30	50	92.59%	1	0	1	1.85%
Total	264	12	6	18	6.82%	124	120	244	92.42%	1	1	2	0.76%

The majority of the women (92.42 percent) said that their principals did not allocate classes and other duties according to the gender of teachers. The majority of these teachers said that their principals were very democratic and they consulted with teachers before they made allocations. The following factors were considered when allocation were made : the needs of the schools; the qualifications, abilities, capabilities and experience of teachers; the subject preferences of teachers. The principals were generally very sympathetic and they did not allocate jobs requiring physical strength to women. Whenever it was necessary, allocation of duties was negotiated with the teachers. In some Coloured secondary schools classes were allocated on a rotation basis.

However, 6.82 percent said that their principals allocated work according to the gender of teachers. Although the proportion of this category of principals was marginal, it has implications for

transformation in schools. Of the women who claimed that principals were gender conscious, 33.33 percent were Indians, 38.89 percent Africans, 11.11 percent Coloureds and 16.67 percent Whites.

The African women, mainly primary school teachers, said that their principals allocated a heavier workload to women but duties requiring physical strength were given to men, the men were given the senior classes to teach and the women the junior classes, normally the JP classes, even if women did not have qualifications to teach them. The secondary school teachers said that their principals thought that males were more competent than the females.

The Indian secondary school teachers did not give reasons for their principals' actions but the primary school teachers did. They said that the junior classes were given to them but senior classes were given to the males because the principals believed that they had better control over the older children; the management duties were given to males in the belief that men were better managers but the other onerous work was given to women.

Amongst Coloured women, the secondary school teachers did not make any inputs but the primary school women said their principals relied heavily on qualifications and the ability to get discipline - men were not given JP classes because they did not have the necessary qualifications.

The White primary school teachers said that the junior classes and sporting activities for junior children were allocated to women and the senior classes and their sporting activities were given to men.

Of the 'unsure' ones, the Coloured teacher made no comments but the White said that the discrimination was blurred as in some areas there was equality but in others such as sport there was distinction.

13. Marriage versus Professionalism

Table 7.36 Marriage vs Professionalism

Marriage vs Professionalism	Total	Yes				No				Unsure			
		PS	SS	T	%	PS	SS	T	%	PS	SS	T	%
Indians	79	4	4	8	10.13%	37	34	71	89.87%	0	0	0	0.00%
Africans	48	4	4	8	16.67%	27	13	40	83.33%	0	0	0	0.00%
Coloureds	70	3	5	8	11.43%	31	30	61	87.14%	1	0	1	1.43%
Whites	54	3	4	7	12.96%	22	25	47	87.04%	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	251	14	17	31	12.35%	117	102	219	87.25%	1	0	1	0.40%

The majority of the women (87.25 percent) said that marriage did not interfere with their profession as teachers. (vide 8.2.5.3. & 8.2.5.4.) The women who said this were: 87.87 percent of the Indians, 83.33 percent Africans, 87.14 percent Coloureds and 87.04 percent Whites. It is significant that the majority of the Indians, Africans and Coloureds in this category were primary school teachers but the Whites were secondary school teachers.

The women who found marriage and teaching compatible had the following justifications:

1. Women were able to separate schoolwork and housework according to a proper balance so that teaching did not interfere with private life - good time management.
2. Women had the support of and non-interference from spouses to practise effectively as teachers.
3. Women's household work was shared by their spouses and children.
4. Some women whose husbands were teachers found more comfort as there was no mismatch of work culture.
5. Some women found that the relatively short working day and the long holidays amply compensated for the loss of family time.
6. Some women found marriage to be social status and protection against harassment by learners as they tended to respect married women
7. Some women found marriage, parenthood and teaching very compatible.

The women who found that marriage interfered with teaching had a variety of reasons, strongly dependent on the cultural groups.

Most Indian women said that marriage increased the responsibilities of the women. Upon marriage the women assumed multiple-roles which impacted negatively on teaching, especially extra-curricular activities; the numerous commitments prevented women from applying for promotion and if there was marital discord it impacted on the teacher's performance. In most cases, women made marriage and their children take precedence over their profession. On the other hand, one unmarried woman said that some single women also had responsibilities such as caring for a family or old age parents.

About 19 percent of the African primary teachers also said that responsibilities of the married and unmarried women were largely the same. Their multiple-roles were too demanding. The workload as teachers was too heavy leaving little time for family life. Very often school work and domestic work coincided, making life very hard for the women.

The Coloured women also found that the multiple-roles of married women were very demanding, tiring and stressful. Marriage limited participation in extra-mural and extra-curricular activities. Some women said that their husbands objected to schoolwork being done at home and everybody demanded too much of their time. A few women asserted that teaching interfered with their marriage, making incursions into their private life.

Some White women were also of the same opinion - that teaching interfered with their marriage. Most of the women said that marriage increased responsibilities beyond school life, family obligations were time-consuming and stressful and that they gave their husbands and families priority. (8.2.5.1.) One woman said that her professional development was stunted because her husband insisted she did locum teaching because of double taxation and one suggested that her marriage failed probably because teaching interfered with it. (vide 8.2.5.2.)

14. Need for Further Changes

Several demands were made by the women teachers for improvement in their conditions in terms of job security and satisfaction, service benefits and safety at work. As a matter of urgency, they wanted security of tenure to be guaranteed. In respect of job satisfaction they wanted : a reduction in class sizes; a better allocation of resources; introduction of measures to discipline learners. They wanted a general improvements in service benefits : salaries and other remuneration to be increased; granting of leave - especially maternity and compassionate - to be more generous; retirement age to be reduced; childcare facilities to be provided at schools. They also wanted the authorities to take measures to make their work environment safe in terms of sexual harassment, robberies, abuse etc. In general, they wanted gender equality to be enforced at schools.

15. Resume

The Survey found that the largest number of participants in this part of the research were the Indians, followed by the Coloureds, Whites and the Africans in descending order. These teachers' attitude to the research appeared to be a good indicator of their position as life long learners and extended professionals. (see below) The schools were staffed by relatively young teachers, the majority of them being under 44 years. The staffing of schools with relatively young teachers has some serious implications for the administration of education in KZN. It is probable that the chaos that prevailed at a number of State schools was due largely to the schools being administered by younger teachers who replaced the more experienced ones who left the system prematurely. The departure of the experienced teachers from education (or teaching) appeared to be a form of 'brain drain.' Most of the

women teachers belonged to Christianity and the majority of the Indian women belonged to Hinduism. It is presumed that a Christian ethos prevails at most schools.

The majority of the White women teachers did not consider teaching to be a secure, well-paid and prestigious profession. On the other hand, a large proportion of African and Indian women and a small proportion of Coloureds thought differently. Apparently, they came from communities in which the teachers had middle class status and the teachers themselves were respected. The Black teachers' attitude appeared to stem from a history of deprivation they had suffered, whereas the Whites' attitude to teaching appeared to reflect their privileged positions in the Apartheid regime. In the White community, therefore, teaching did not appear to have the same status as it did in the Black communities.

The majority of the women teachers were teaching in primary schools although a sizeable proportion were also found in secondary schools. In the primary schools, most of the women teachers were deployed to teach the lower grades but in the secondary schools the situation was different, as more of the women were involved in teaching the higher grades. Although women were promoted to management positions in large numbers recently, more than 82 percent of the teachers were L1 Educators and only about 14 percent were HODs and 3 percent were Deputy Principals and Principals. Most of the women Deputy Principals and Principals were found in primary schools and, the African and Indian women had more representativeness than Whites and Coloureds in promotion posts. It was significant that, overall, women were still under-represented in positions of power in schools considering the demographics.

About 80 percent of the women teachers were married some time in their lives. The marital status of the women teachers appeared to have serious implications for their work as teachers. Despite their professional and financial status, most of the teachers had chosen to marry, probably due to socio-cultural pressure or other compulsion. Seventy eight percent of the women had children; this included live-in couples and single (unmarried) women (mostly Africans) who had children either of their own born out of wedlock or by adoption. Most of the women presumably lived in nuclear families but about 30 percent (mostly Indians and Africans) lived in extended families with other dependents. It is presumed that the roles of the women teachers living in joint families were more challenging and stressful than those in the nuclear families. The majority of the Black women were comfortable with their multiple roles. More than 82 percent of the women teachers indicated that married life did not interfere with their work as they handled both roles competently. These women stated that time management, sharing housework and having tolerant spouses were important factors aiding fulfilment of their role-functions. However, some women made the point that teaching interfered with their

marriage. It appeared that the teachers still value and cleave to socio-cultural institutions of marriage and family but some were breaking free from these traditions. Therefore, it appeared that there was a group of women in every community who avoided marriage in order to preserve their independence and yet have had sexual relationships for biological needs, including procreation.

Most of the women had under twenty years of service, an unfavourable factor in cases of retrenchment or early retirement. More than 82 percent of them were permanent teachers and they enjoyed relative security of tenure. The Africans appeared to be the most secure since about 91 percent of them were permanent teachers. However, their permanent status this did not mean that they were invulnerable to the KZNDEC's R&R policies, because it was alleged that these regulations were changed very often. The employment of teachers by the SGBs was a feature at White and Indians schools only. Again traditions of marriage and family disadvantaged the women teachers in terms of security of tenure and benefits. More than 62 percent of the women had breaks in service. Most of the interruptions were related to marriage, maternity and family-building. Significantly, few African women appeared to have taken maternity leave and no White woman's service was terminated in view of this.

Although most of the women taught the lower grades, 92 percent of the women claimed that work at their schools was allocated not according to gender but the needs, qualifications and teachers' preferences. Beyond general teaching, the White women were the ones most involved in other roles such as decision-making, leadership, managers and Maths and Science teaching but the Africans were the least involved in these areas and the Indians and Coloured were placed somewhere between these extremes. The White women were in a better position probably because they had better opportunities for advancement in the previous regime. Sex discrimination was nevertheless evident in the allocations of work and the empowerment of women in schools. Women of all race groups were generally teaching the lower grades in primary and secondary schools combined and the number of promotion post holders were not commensurate with their larger numbers in the profession.

The majority (92 percent) of the teachers were certificated teachers but only 42 percent had academic qualifications beyond matriculation. The lowest number of graduates came from the African group. In all race groups between 63 and 90 percent of the graduates were teaching in the secondary schools. This meant that the primary school teaching was left largely in the hands of the non-graduates. Professionally and academically, the Indian women were the most highly qualified, followed by the Coloureds. These groups of teachers appeared to be more in step with the Govt's requirements for teachers to be life long learners and extended professionals. The Coloureds and Indians' overwhelming response to this research might also confirm their higher level of professionalism. (cited above) But, few women indicated they were studying or would want to study in the future because of the lack of

incentives and motivation. The negative attitude to study runs counter to Hoyle's theory of professionalism (cited in Harley et al, 1999) and is incompatible with the State's requirement for teachers. Prejudice against women's education was largely removed four decades ago but the State has now inadvertently undermined this by withdrawing monetary benefits for improved qualifications. Significantly, the majority of the teachers who wanted to be life long learners were the African women because most of those who were studying or wanted to study in the future were Africans.

Although most Black women (especially the Africans and Indians) had become teachers because of the higher salaries and the prestige attached to teaching, they were now seriously disillusioned with the profession. Not only were the teachers deriving little satisfaction from their jobs, they were also very insecure because of unsolicited transfers, retrenchments and the threat of reduction in service benefits. Moreover, they received scant respect from all stakeholders in education and little recognition for their worth, resulting in low teacher morale. Historically, teaching did not have a very high status in the White community but the Black communities accorded it much respect and status. In recent times the Govt's actions to restructure education has diminished the status of the teachers even among the Black people. Student indiscipline, prescribed methods, heavy workload and poor examination results made teaching very difficult, stressful and unsatisfying for most teachers. White women teachers, on the contrary, appeared to derive the most satisfaction from teaching and the examination results at their schools did not cause much concern. On face value, the White women teachers seemed to derive satisfaction because they were teaching in schools that were well resourced in material and human terms.

The women teachers felt empowered in the new dispensation. Parity in service benefits, especially salaries and pensions empowered the women. However, more than 63 percent of the women did not receive housing subsidies. They gave several reasons for non-receipt, the chief of which were that their husbands were paying for the houses; that their temporary status disqualified them; that their houses were free-hold properties; that they were employed by the SGBs which did not offer fringe benefits. Some African women teachers were unaware of the existence of such a scheme and some did not know how to apply for it. However, most of the women indicated that the fact that their spouses could be beneficiaries to their pensions upon their death empowered them. However, some women were sceptical about this empowerment. They did not have much faith in the status of the GSPF; they despised getting promotion through affirmative action, preferring getting promotion on merit; they felt that the discriminatory contribution to the GSPF would disadvantage them; they found that the low salaries did not allow them to save for old age. Historically, women teachers were always under-

remunerated and discriminated against in respect of benefits. The new dispensation addressed these but gender equity has not been achieved.

When the women were approached to say whether they were adequately liberated to function as professional teachers, they presented some mixed feelings. The majority of the women, especially the Coloureds and Indians, indicated that their careers and their other roles were compatible and manageable. It appeared that the new liberated women, while undergoing transformation as career women, were still cleaving to traditional roles and values.

More than 60 percent of the women agreed that the termination of unwanted pregnancy would enable women teachers to do their work more freely. The most support for this line of thinking came from the Indians and the least support from the Africans. It is assumed that latter group's reaction probably stemmed from a culture where large families are preferred.

About 51 percent of the women indicated that the men accepted the women teachers as equals. The most support for this statement came from the Indians and the least from the Whites. Most of the women indicated that women Principals and Deputy Principals did not mimic their male counterparts and oppress the women teachers. Significantly, most of the disagreements came from Whites but the least amount from the Africans.

More than 87 percent of the women refuted the suggestion that the single women teachers be promoted over married women. This reaction appeared to be natural mainly because the majority of the respondents were married women. In addition, 71 percent of the women said that the practice of placing married women teachers first on the retrenchment or redeployment list was uncommon. This attitude appeared to confirm the principals and staffs' humane attitude to pregnant women. (cited below)

The male-female teacher relationships had improved at schools with more that 50 percent of the men accepting women as equals but the historically Indian schools seemed to be changing too slowly. A tremendous measure of collegiality was evident. The humane manner in the Principals and staffs of schools treated pregnant women was significant. Pregnancy was considered a natural part of a women's life and it had to be accepted as such. However, a small proportion of women complained that male attitudes still needed to improve as patriarchy still prevailed to a noticeable extent in the workplace.

The unsuspecting person would assume that since the SA Constitution guarantees gender equality the women (teachers) were already on a par with men. The general sense of what emerged from the survey is that transformation has not yet empowered women to the extent that it is often claimed or believed. The main areas of concern for the teachers were the KZNDEC's R & R policies, the threat of reduction in service benefits and pensions, the KZNDEC's vacillating policies and the unsafe work environment.

In view of these stressful factors, the women teachers made several demands to improve their conditions of work. The most urgent of the demands were related to job satisfaction, job security, service benefits and safety at work. Other demands were improvement in leave conditions, reduction in retirement age and provision of childcare facilities at schools.

The issues that have been touted in this chapter have yielded data which focus on the lives of women teachers but the data are too peripheral to reach final conclusions. Therefore to gain deeper insight into the major themes about working women's lives such as marriage, family, further education, division of work, conditions of work and service benefits were probed in face to face interviews with the women. Some selected data captured in the interviews are presented in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 8

The Rolling Stone Gathers Some Moss

8.1. Introduction

The analysis of the questionnaire data presented in the previous chapter lends insight into various aspects of the lives of the present day women teachers in KZN province. However, it also serves to provide a framework for further exploration of issues. For example, it was difficult to see why White women teachers derived satisfaction from teaching whereas most of the Black women teachers did not. The interviews revealed that there was a strong economic factor to the problem.(vide 8.2.1.) Whilst issues brought to the fore by the questionnaire survey were probed to obtain a deeper insight, new insights were also obtained. For instance, single parenthood was never an issue until it surfaced while the issue of marriage and teachers' work was probed. The data gleaned in this manner enhanced the understanding of teachers' lives. From this perspective, this chapter served as scaffolding on which new knowledge was generated.

The inputs made by 16 women of all race groups selected on an equal sampling basis is presented. The interview sample comprised African women (Gugu, Zee, Lindiwe (Principal) and Nkule), Indian women (Rubee, Sagree, Vellie and Sanbuga (Principal)), Coloured women (Valerie, Tracy (Deputy Principal), Marie and Edna) and White women (Hilda, Denise, Carol and Karin (Principal)). The term Black is used in the generic sense to mean African, Indian and Coloured women collectively. (vide Ch 6)

8.2. The Major Themes

8.2.1. Job Satisfaction

As in Survey II, (B, 5&6, pp. 249-252), this enquiry found that the Black respondents had a deep sense of dissatisfaction with their jobs. Many were disillusioned with the new Govt which, they said, had reneged on its promises to deliver quality education, feeling that the

conditions had worsened instead. They complained that their work had become difficult, frustrating and distressing because the administration had changed the rules too often, the standards were lowered to accommodate learners whose discipline and learning ratios were very low generally, the teacher-pupil ratios were high and the women teachers were often allocated a heavier workload for which they received no reward.

On the contrary, the four White respondents said that they derived satisfaction from teaching. When the Black respondents were confronted with the White respondents' experiences, they retorted that the White women derived satisfaction because they taught in privileged schools. What was remarkable about this retort, apart from its spontaneity, was the tone of anger and aggressiveness. The researcher is left with the distinct impression that the Black respondents still suffer under the triple oppression of class, race and gender, which many feminists write about. Tracy, a woman who appears not to be a radical feminist, captures this feeling when she stated that:

... they come out of the preferential apartheid system. In the first place they have beautiful facilities that we can dream of fifty years down the line, would make conditions much easier. Their fee structure allows them more support; they can hire more teachers; the teacher-pupil ratio is correct and they have teacher-assistants. ...Our facilities are so much poor. ... We have more problems than they have. If you are teaching in a lower socio-economic group you have more problems. They don't have homework facilities. They don't have a learning culture in their homes. Their parents have so many other problems to contend with. Seeing that homework is done and that children get to schools is not an issue. And you are going to have that impact on job satisfaction.

In short she emphasised the facts that having excellent facilities and teaching learners from higher socio-economic groups where a strong culture of learning prevails should afford the White women teachers a great deal of job satisfaction.

However, the four White respondents provided somewhat different reasons for their job satisfaction. Denise, a Matric teacher, said that she liked teaching the senior boys; Hilda said that it was just hard work; and Karin and Carol said that they derived satisfaction because they just enjoyed teaching. To add to it, Karin said that the fact that she was growing as an educator in the new teaching-learning situation gave her much satisfaction and Carol said that teaching children from different language and cultural backgrounds in an integrated system was

providing her with a richness of experience that is making her a new teacher. She said, *'I find teaching before 1994 lacked a wholeness which I am experiencing.'*

Carol was the only White respondent to allude to the fact that her job satisfaction was derived from the superior facilities and the culture of teaching and learning prevailing at the historically White schools. The other three respondents simply said that they derived satisfaction because they loved teaching. This submission would vindicate what an African respondent said about White women teachers' career choices: *'They (the White women) opted to become teachers, but with the majority of Blacks it was the only option because of the financial constraint.'* (Writer's addition)

In essence this assertion implies that if becoming a teacher is a personal choice then there is a greater chance the teacher would derive satisfaction from her job. It also implies that this person might, therefore, be a good teacher. Literature also informs this study that even learners can discern the link between making the right career choices and job satisfaction. Asked by Roger White & David Brockington (1983) about some characteristics of a 'good' teacher, one student said:

Teachers should know that they're not going into a job but a way of life - they're doing it through their choice. That's the difference between them and kids. Kids are there because they've got to be; teachers are there because they want to be. If they appreciate that, they'll know that they've got to be understanding and be super-humanly patient.

Kerry Parkes, aged 21, Great Barr, Birmingham

This would imply that since the White women were teaching for the love of the job and that they would be bound to derive satisfaction from it. On the other hand, the Black women were teaching because other opportunities were not open to them. Therefore for economic reasons they had chosen teaching as a career. There is evidence for this line of thinking from the inputs of two Indian respondents. Vellie said that the White women's job opportunities were so diversified that the ones who became teachers did so most certainly because of the love of the job. Rubee said that the younger Black teachers were not committed to their jobs because of the uncertainty and that they remained as teachers for mercenary reasons.

Sanbuga presented yet another perspective. She said that the White women teachers derived a

lot of satisfaction because the majority of teachers in 'White' schools are females. There appears to be justification for this line of argument in literature on co-education and single-sex schools. Sarah et al (1988) assert that for women teachers to make headway in their profession they have to teach in girls' school where they will be free from patriarchy to a very large extent and therefore enjoy autonomy. They argue that working in separate schools away from male dominance, the women would develop their own professional identities and power base. In co-educational schools, the women are submerged by the overbearing images of the males (ibid).

Generally, it was found that White women teachers derived job satisfaction as opposed to Black women teachers. Evidence shows that there was a strong economic undercurrent to the problem. The Govt under-funds education, making working conditions more difficult for Black women teachers, whereas the affluent parents make teaching conditions more comfortable for White teachers as they provide the additional funding to the historically White schools. Moreover, the majority of Black women teachers appeared not to derive enjoyment from their jobs because they, unlike the White women teachers, were forced into teaching. Job satisfaction for KZN women teachers definitely has socio-political and economic overtones.

8.2.2. Job Security

As in Survey II, (B, 6, pp. 251-252), it was found in the interviews that all the respondents, except the White women teachers, were insecure in their jobs. Only one White woman, Hilda, spoke about her insecurity of tenure, which was related to her marital status. She entered the profession as a temporary teacher because she was married. Her position worsened when she became pregnant; she was asked to resign. The Indian and Coloured women complained about their temporary status in the old regime, but the present day job insecurity appears to overshadow this. The greatest source of insecurity was the R&R policies of the KZNDEC. Most of the women understood the rationale behind the R&R policies but what grieved them was the way in which the policies were implemented.

The respondents said that their concerns were several. First, there were no job guarantees, as those who had teaching posts in the year 2001 were unsure if they would have posts in 2002. Second, redundant teachers were unwilling to transfer to other schools, mostly located in rural areas, where there was no accommodation and commuting was unsafe. Third, relocation and

separation from their families were perceived by some teachers as the re-introduction of the migrant labour system. Fourth, was the issue of teachers from previously traditional schools being unwelcome at the new 'integrated' schools. Fifth, very importantly, was the confusion about the implementation of the R&R policies as the interpretation of the documents pertaining to them varied from area to area and from school to school. Lastly, most of the newly qualified teachers were unemployed.

When asked about the implications of this state of affairs, the respondents described their work environment as being unstable that the younger teachers were not committed to their jobs; some were learning skills to fit into other jobs if retrenched; and that most of the teachers coaxed their charges to avoid teaching when making career choices.

When asked for suggestions to solve the problems related to R&R, the respondents said that the Govt should stop importing teachers (eg the Cubans) and absorb the redundant teachers by retraining them in learning areas where scarcity of teachers exists, channel more funds into education, reduce class sizes and reinstate corporal punishment in modified form to improve discipline in schools. Two respondents, Carol and Lindiwe, suggested that redundant teachers be bold and venture into other schools to make the system work. Carol added that it would be an interesting and enriching experience to transfer to schools in other areas.

Overall it was found that the work environment was considered unstable for most of the respondents. The Govt's R&R scheme was the main cause of the insecurity of tenure. The White women were relatively secure because the parents provided the funds to pay the redundant teachers absorbed by the schools as extra teachers. Fearing the unknown, the redundant Black teachers refused to transfer to schools in other areas. To solve the present problems in education, the respondents suggested that the Govt increase funding, retrain and absorb the redundant teachers, reduce class sizes, reinstate corporal punishment to discipline learners. There were serious political and economic undertones to the problem of job security, partly confirming the feminists' notion of the Black women's triple oppression.

8.2.3. Status of teachers and Teaching

The interviews, while confirming the responses obtained in Survey II, (B, 4, pp. 246-248),

revealed other layers to the problem. The interviews revealed that traditionally teaching was a high status job in the African, Indian and Coloured communities. But, according to the White respondents it was different in their communities although the Afrikaans community still respected teachers. The respondents vociferously said that the status of teachers and the teaching profession was at its lowest ebb. Sagree vehemently said *Teaching was not just a job, it was a profession. People held teachers in high esteem in the past. Now the status is low. ... It's embarrassing sometimes to tell people that you are teaching - they will talk about you being in excess and the poor pay teachers get.*

All the women shared this opinion and they cited several factors for the decline. (vide 8.2.1. & 8.2.2.) Firstly, many of the women said emphatically that the KZNDEC was largely responsible for diminishing the status of the teachers and the teaching profession. The banning of corporal punishment was believed to have undermined the authority of schools resulting in a culture of indiscipline and non-learning among learners. They generally felt the Dept tended to treat teachers like 'slave drivers' to whom they hand down instructions to implement, without even considering the feasibility of this. School Governing Bodies do not give due consideration to the academic qualifications of the candidates when they select teaching personnel.

Secondly, some women said that teaching has lost some of its prestige and status when other opportunities were opened up to the youth. Because of poor job prospects, many were avoiding teacher training. Many parents and teachers were actually discouraging the children from taking teaching as a career. It appears that events occur in an historical cycle because the Indian youth of the 1940s experienced a similar problem. Kannemeyer (1943) and Kuppusami (1946) also found that teaching was not attractive to the Indian youths as the salaries offered by Indian education were 'unworthy of the profession.' Kannemeyer says that the Indian youths were coaxed by their relatives and friends to join the railways and the mines because they paid better wages. On the other hand, it emerged from the interviews that some adolescent girls of their own accord wanted to avoid taking teaching as their careers. Three respondents reported their daughters' opinions on teaching as a career. Two White respondents, Karin and Carol, admitted that they attempted to influence their daughters to become teachers. Carol was successful but Karin was not. Karin's daughter simply rejected her mother's suggestion. The third respondent, Marie, who dissuaded her daughter from

pursuing teaching, presented her daughter's perspective. *No. I've told her teaching was not for her. What she said to me was that 'I won't become a teacher, ma, because I know I was deprived as a little girl.' I was not there for my little girl. I did not take her to school. She said, 'Mum, I don't want to become a teacher. I've seen what it has done to us because you were not there.'*

Thirdly, most of the women complained that the parents and the learners had scant regard for the teachers. The respondents said that the loss of respect for teachers seemed to stem from the devolution of power to the parents in the governance of schools and the indiscipline of learners through the banning of corporal punishment in the main.

Fourthly, four women suggested strongly that teachers themselves were responsible for the present lacklustre image of the profession. They accused them of not being committed teachers and good role models.

The low status teachers appears to be a universal phenomenon. Warner (1988:14), for example, presents the status of teachers in Britain :

Discontent with the outcome of education carries with it a general low esteem for those who dispense this unsatisfactory commodity, the teachers. School teachers are among the most despised, and also the worst-paid, sectors of society.

Karen was the only respondent who attempted to salvage the teachers' image. She pointed out that the Dept and the parents now recognised the 'women's commitment to work, because women are being promoted to managerial positions.

To conclude, it was found that previously teachers and teaching had high status in the Black communities especially, but now, the status has been diminished. The teachers' morale, job satisfaction and motivation have diminished to the lowest ebb. The insensitive dealings of parents and education officials, the unwieldy regulations, the poor job prospects, the lack of respect for teachers and the teachers' negative attitude were cited as the main causes of the diminution of status. Most of the respondents actively discouraged their charges and daughters from taking teaching as a career. Even the female adolescents recognised the lacklustre status of teachers and teaching. Viewed from socio-economic and political perspectives, the status of

teachers and the teaching profession was generally low.

8.2.4. Professionalism

The general sense to emerge from the Black respondents is that teaching has lost its professional status. (vide 8.2.3.) Four Black women stated emphatically that teaching has now become just a job that one does for money. However, this mercenary attitude appeared to exist mostly among the young teachers. The reasons the respondents provided for this attitude were the insecurity of tenure and the uncertainty in the conditions of service in terms of the curtailment of benefits.

The Black women teachers complained that the KZNDEC, the parents and the teacher organizations offered little or no support to teachers to develop as professionals. They complained that the Dept changed its rules too frequently to allow for constructive engagement and development. For example, the teachers did not understand the philosophy behind OBE and its practice adequately because of changes that were introduced so frequently. In addition, the SGBs do not give due recognition to academic qualification when selecting personnel for schools. (vide 8.2.3.) And, the teacher organizations' efforts to enhance the professional status through teacher developmental programmes achieved marginal success as only a small number of women really participated. These organisations did little to remedy the situation. On the other hand, the organisations did provide a forum for teachers' matters and support services, for example legal aid and solidarity.

All the White women teachers and some Black women teachers were less pessimistic about the new order. Karin said: *'We now have a cross-pollination of ideas, integration and mixing. I am enjoying it because we now meet colleagues from cultural groups, colleagues with different degrees and teaching ideas. We share ideas.'* When asked how she would use the new ethos in education to improve the image of her school, she replied: *'You would ensure that your school was a vibrant happy place that attracted a large number of pupils. The kind of teaching my school does is an advertisement.'* (vide 8.2.7.6)

These women have indicated the system could be made to work. They said that the importation of teachers eg. the Cubans was not the answer. They suggested that the Dept could

retrain teachers and provide proper infrastructure and resources. They said that, further, the teachers needed to be more resourceful in terms of upgrading qualifications and sharpening their professional skills; they had to earn their respect from the students and the community by doing high quality work. Asked how teachers could regain their respect and image, Tracy said that '... *if we develop the kind of relationship with the community at school. ... it would be how accountable you are to the community on performing a valid service and that would determine how much respect you will get.*'

The respondents also said that it was incumbent on the schools themselves to take the initiative to improve their self-image. They were emphatic that the teacher organisations should see to the welfare of teachers - both material and intellectual - take up bread and butter issues as well as professional development of the teachers.

Eleven of the respondents said that they would want to study for reasons other than wanting to earn a better salary. Two of them said that they wanted to get promotions but the eight others said that they wanted to be better teachers. Even if a few had spoken with a tongue-in-the-cheek attitude, the point is that they saw the importance of updating their qualification, an attitude which appeared to fit the Govt's requirement that a teacher ought to be a life-long learner. Edna put it fairly succinctly : '*No. I want to be a better teacher. I want to keep abreast with time. There are so many changes coming and if you do not study you gonna remain static.*'

Not only were these women life-long learners, they were also extended professionals, as espoused by Hoyle (cited in Harley et al, 1999).

Sagree was reluctant to study. When asked for the reason, she said : '*....I'm not going to get paid more..... the rule came around that qualification didn't matter, experience was more important. So if you were a M5 or M3 didn't make a difference as long as you were an experienced teacher.... I would have been really, really bitter to have spent all that time and effort to be out of the system soon.*

This respondent cut a clear picture of a restricted professional in terms of Hoyle's theory (cited in Harley et al, 1999) in that she was inclined to rely on her experience rather than enhancing

her expertise through studies.

To conclude, it was found that the status of teachers and the teaching profession was low due to the negative attitude of the KZNDEC, parents, learners and the teachers themselves. The KZNDEC's vacillating policies and the instability they created in schools had damaged the self image of the teachers and eroded the status of the profession as a whole. The younger teachers did not commit themselves to the profession because it did not offer security of tenure, and therefore they did not have the inclination to take further studies. Furthermore, the fact that they did not get recognition for qualifications or their work demotivated them. But the more optimistic teachers said that the KZNDEC and the teachers could win back the professional self image and status by recommitting themselves to the delivery of quality education. The status of the teachers and teaching needs to be seen from a socio-political perspective.

8.2.5. Marriage

8.2.5.1. The Compulsion to Marry

Of the 16 interviewees, three were spinsters, all African women. One of them was Lindiwe who indicated that she has no desire to marry. She has no children but lives in an extended family. The other two, Zee and Nkule, are single parents, also living in extended families. Nkule has one child and Zee has three children from three different men. Nkule does not want to marry for an undisclosed reason but does not reject marriage. But, Zee wanted to marry the father of the last child but she was waiting for him to initiate the marriage. She said that in Zulu culture the woman does not initiate marriage. When asked why this man did not initiate marriage she said that he cannot afford the *lobola*. (vide 8.2.7.4.) She did not marry the other two men because she felt that they might have interfered with her freedom. And, she added that if she does marry the present man, she would not hesitate to divorce him if he interferes with her independence. Kuzwayo (cited in Van der Vliet, 1984), considering a similar case, has commented that '*with her growing financial economic stature, she has no doubt, also increased her difficulties. Many of these advanced and independent women find it difficult to marry.*'

Fifteen of the respondents viewed marriage as a necessary part of life and some of them said that they placed a very high value their marriage. Vellie and Sanbuga came very close to saying that marriage is compulsory for a woman. Their attitude appears to be influenced by Swami Sivananda's doctrine that Marriage is obligatory on Hindu woman and that she ought to be the good wife and good mother and not enter the job market in competition with men (Rambiritch, 1955; Pillay, 1972). However, most of the respondents were emphatic that paid work and marriage could be balanced; that the one does not have to be neglected at the expense of the other. Literature reviewed by Crosby and Jaskar (in Oskamp & Costanzo, 1993) amply confirms this view. Some women added a psychological dimension to this debate. For example, Carol said that marriage and family have made her a *'whole person'* and, Karin, Valerie and Tracy came very close to saying the same thing. However, Valerie emphasised the fact that she placed her family first in her life, as she asserted : *'...I would never ever do any job at the expense of having a husband and children.'* (vide 8.2.5.6.)

Two Coloured respondents, Marie and Edna, approached the compulsion to marry in the old regime from the economic and political perspectives. Marie, talking from personal experience, said that she divorced her husband but continued to cohabit with him because of the children. When she fell pregnant accidentally, she was forced to remarry him because *'in the past female teachers were not allowed to have children out of marriage.'* A year later she divorced him again. Edna said that she knew of an unmarried woman who had to resign because she had a baby - the principal refused to take her back. She added : *' And lots of girls were forced to be married, to do something they were not happy about.'*

In summary, the interviews revealed that marriage has social, religious, economic and political implications. It appeared that the majority of the women found it compelling to get married. Even the single parents betrayed a secret (or a fleeting) desire to be paired. Most of the women saw marriage and paid work as important parts of their *'whole life'*, whilst two women, an Indian and a Coloured, rated their marriage and family to be more important than their profession. Some women, put in a predicament such as facing dismissal for getting pregnant in their unmarried state, chose to get married to remain in their jobs.

8.2.5.2. Divorce

Survey II, (A1, 5, p.229), revealed that the divorce rate was the highest among the Indian women as opposed to the relatively low rate among Africans, in spite of the large number of single parents among them. This information presented a cultural shock as literature informs this study that divorce was once unacceptable to Indians; it was taboo to divorce, especially among Hindus (Kuper, 1960; Jithoo, 1970). The respondents presented some illuminating insights into the cultural changes the Indian women had undergone in recent times. They highlighted patriarchy, marital mismatch and incompatibility as the main reasons for divorce.

All the respondents said that the Indian women are now westernised (educated) and liberated. They singled out patriarchy as the main problem in Indian marriages. They believed that the Indian men, like the Zulu men, were very domineering. Although they provided and cared for their women, they still dominated them. Sanbuga, the Indian principal presented a socio-cultural perspective of the transformation of Indian women : *I think women are more liberated now. Prior to this, as you know, it was a taboo, everything was family secret. If the couple were having a problem, nobody must have known that. ... you find that the lady ... was so dependent on the husband. Now you can have your own bank account. You can survive. And I think you can do without a troublesome husband.*

Hellman (cited in Van der Vliet, 1984) also speaks about ' *a middle class phenomenon deriving from the women's financial independence, and certainly there seems to be evidence that marriages of educated women are potentially less stable because of financial independence.*'

The second problem raised was the question of the mismatch of marriage partners. Hilda and Sanbuga suggested that arranged marriages among Indians might be an important factor for mismatches. According to Vellie and Sanbuga, mismatches in Indian marriages occurred mainly when the husbands were not professional men. Thirdly, stemming from the mismatch was the problem of incompatibility among certain couples. The women felt that there was a lack of communication and understanding between the spouses and the relationship generally worsened if the husbands' income was lower than that of their wives'. Vellie said that such husbands sometimes chose some indirect ways to exert their male dominance. Hilda and

Valerie talked about Indian men's abuse and how the women chose to escape from it. Hilda said that she was aware that a few of her Indian colleagues were being subjected to verbal and physical abuse by their spouses. According to Valerie, '*... the (Indian) women are becoming more westernised and empowered, they not taking any 'shits' any longer' and therefore are divorcing.*'

The respondents felt that being liberated now, the Indian women were refusing to remain in unhappy marriages. Ramphal (1989) is emphatic that previously Indians' orthodox beliefs, concern for the children, and their dependence on their men kept the women trapped in marriages. But now, with westernisation, the decline of the extended family network, the competition of women with men etc, women appeared to be finding divorce a viable alternative to unhappy marriages. Hart and Goode (in Haralambos, 1984) also postulate that the liberation of women in Britain and America facilitated divorce. According to them, the stigma attached to divorce has been reduced and the religious attitudes towards marriage has changed as a result of the secularization of western societies. This has resulted in the Marriage Laws in Britain being amended since 1857. Hart offers a Marxian perspective to divorce. She explains that the capitalist system involves a married woman in housework, child-raising and subservience to the husband. These normative expectations contradict the wife's role as a wage earner since she now shares the financial burden of the husband. Conflicts between the spouses would result from this contradiction, which could result in divorce.

The interviews revealed that the position of the African women teachers was often complicated by polygyny and concubinage. The underlying factor in marital problems is male dominance (Elliott, 1978). Even among professional spouses there appears to be discord, as Gugu put it. She said that her husband, who is also a teacher, is not as understanding as she would like him to be. (vide 8.2.7.1.) In spite of all this, there appeared to be few cases of divorce among African women teachers. Several reasons were advanced by the respondents. First, patriarchy operates more strongly in African culture. The woman is more of a slave as she has to endure all sorts of hardships and do everything for the male. Elliott (1978) notes that marriage conflicts among the Zulus are resolved either by the chief or the man's father-in-law. Elliott argues that as the elders are revered in Zulu culture, these men's judgments are taken seriously. This is probably why the African women remain in marriages like slaves. Second, it was stated that some African women do not get married at all. They move-in and

live together with their partners and move out when there is a problem. So there is no place for divorce. Edna suggested that divorce is not so common among Africans because they have to return the *lobola*. But, when this matter was raised with Nkule, she contradicted it saying that they need not pay back the *lobola* if they have children.

Two of the Black women teachers have said that they were aware that some couples divorced in the old regime for pure convenience, that is, to qualify for a housing subsidy. Previously this privilege was not available to married women teachers. Therefore some couples found it expedient to divorce but still cohabit, so the 'wives' could draw subsidies. It appeared that when this restriction was dropped, some of these couples remarried but the others remained divorced. The respondents claimed that this factor could have impacted on the divorce rate of women teachers revealed in Survey II.

This study revealed that until recently divorce was uncommon among women teachers, especially among the Indians and the Africans. The wives were tied to their husbands by cultural norms. But recently the women were liberated by western education and influence. When confronted with marital problems some of the liberated women did not hesitate to divorce their spouses. The remarkable outcome of the interviews was that all the women, even the visibly happily married ones, were sympathetic to victims and sanctioned divorce as a viable alternative to an unhappy marriage. The women recognised patriarchy, marital mismatch and incompatibility as the main reasons for divorce. Viewed from a socio-cultural perspective, it is concluded that a western education had liberated the women, more especially the Indians, to challenge the institution of marriage if it worked against their mental and physical well-being.

8.2.5.3. Multiple Roles of Women Teachers

What emerged from the interviews about the multiple roles of women teacher were at variance with the inputs made in Survey II, (B, 8.1., pp. 255-257). The interviews revealed that all sixteen respondents fulfilled multiple roles. What emerged distinctly was that the women teachers did not necessarily have to be married or have husbands or children to have multiple roles, as the spinsters who lived in extended families pointed out.

The married women indicated clearly that they managed the three roles - that of wife, mother and teacher- quite well. Most of them indicated, some quite emphatically, that they would not forego the roles of wife and mother for the sake of the profession. (vide 8.2.5.1.)

Most of the respondents claimed that performing all three roles was very fulfilling and two of them placed their profession only after their husbands and children. The unmarried women with children fulfilled the roles of bread-winner, mother and teacher. Although they felt that they performed adequately as parents, they still felt the need for the 'husband-father' figure in their households. Lindiwe, the childless spinster lived in an extended family but she gave no indication of her roles. Karin who was a widow claimed that, in addition to all her other roles, including principal, she was expected to play the role of a father to her child.

The married women and the single mothers claimed that they fulfilled all their roles adequately. When asked how they managed so many roles, Vellie confidently replied : *'You'll have to learn to find a balance between doing your job and running your family as well.'* This meant that she had to plan her work carefully, adhere to the plan and use time judiciously. Four of these respondents admitted that it got tough at times but they overcame the crises somehow. The four White women, two Coloured women and an Indian woman said that their husbands were very supportive. They shared the chores and child-care and supported their wives when they were studying or under par.

Some women who were studying fulfilled an additional role, that of student. For them, it was a matter of juggling the roles but life was hard at times. Two women said that they did not neglect their family responsibilities and at the same time they did not allow them to stymie their aspirations or ambitions.

All of the responses contradict to a large extent what feminist scholarship informs this study about the burdensome life of working women. Lewenhak (1992) and Crosby and Jaskar (in Oskamp and Costanzo, 1993), for example, write with sympathy and empathy about working women's multiple roles and their role-juggling. They say that their respondents complained vociferously about the low pay and the non-recognition teachers received for their work as teachers, but most of them did not complain about the non-recognition and no pay they received for the domestic work and childcare. These teachers appeared to have been unaware

of the social and capitalistic systems that subjected them to these multiple roles (Oakley, 1974; Lewenhak, 1993). Lapchick and Urdang (1982) and Oakley (1974) argue that the capitalistic system exploits women's domestic labour to subsidise men's low pay. Capital also benefits indirectly from the support, care and comfort women provide as helpmates to the husbands; otherwise it will not have a happy and healthy workforce (ibid).

Women's leisure time and health conditions, recognised by Crosby and Jaskar (in Oskamp and Costanzo, 1993) as important factors affecting role-juggling did not emerge from this study. Feminist writers, on the other hand, have long recognised these factors to be inhibiting women's welfare and progress. Working women are generally so inundated with work that they do not have sufficient time for leisure or recreation or study and therefore stagnate in comparison to their men. They also assert that the women's multiple roles are so demanding that with time they become prone to diseases like angina, hypertension and diabetes (ibid).

Lewenhak (1992) argues that women's domestic work which includes teaching the young a wide range of skills, is largely unrecognised and totally undervalued. She further argues that this undervaluation has a domino effect in the marketplace, where the women are underpaid. If Lewenhak's theory is acceptable, then the KZN women teachers' grievances about low pay are probably justified.

In general, the respondents claimed to enjoy fulfilling the multiple roles such as wives, mothers and teachers. They stressed planning and time management to be prime factors for role fulfilment. Although their husbands/partners are supportive, they complained that their men still avoid 'women's' work. Further, the women complained about the low pay and non-recognition for their work as teachers but said nothing about the same non-recognition and 'no pay' they received for domestic work and childcare. The line of enquiry revealed a socio-cultural and economic perspective of women's work, where the women were socially and culturally conditioned to fit into roles, which the capitalistic system exploited.

8.2.5.4. The Match between Motherhood and Teaching

Most of the respondents were unanimous that there was a close relationship between motherhood and teaching. Vellie observed: ... *in motherhood, you are looking at your child*

... you are developing your child ... you are guiding your child ... to grow ... both mentally and physically. ... in school, yes, we are also taught to teach holistically. So there is a link, definitely.

Several women said that the two roles complement each other. They explained that the work of the woman teacher in the classroom is in many ways an extension of what she does with her own children in the home. At school she is the social mother to her charges for the half-day they spend with her. Rubee said : *As female it's easy to play this role because what I do at home is also done in the class. Besides teaching them, I have to worry about their physical and emotional condition and their needs. The pastoral care is a mother's role. I am playing (this) in the teaching profession.*

In short, Rubee asserted that she used the skills and insights gained as a mother to handle the learners in the classroom.

There is a close link between a mother's work in the home and a teacher's, especially a primary teacher's, work in the classroom. Christie (1987), Benet (in Haralambos, 1984) and Lewenhak (1992), for example, assert that there is a very strong link between domestic work and primary school teaching. Christie (1987) argues that nursing and teaching are seen as the most suitable occupations for women because in their practice, nurses and teachers use the knowledge and skills they learn in their domestic training. But the distinction, she makes, is that nursing and teaching are more advanced forms of domestic work, implying that the skills and knowledge are more specialised and professionalised and the training itself is formal. Benet (in Haralamos, 1984) and Lewenhak (1992), on the other hand, equate the socialisation of the child in the home with teaching of the child in the classroom. In Britain, over half of the schoolteachers are women and three quarters of them teach in primary schools. In many respects, this mirrors their domestic childcare roles (ibid).

The question of whether having their own children makes the women better teachers was raised in the interviews. Four women felt strongly that experience gained from having their own children makes them better teachers. To support this view, Karin said : *'When I was single I think I considered myself a good teacher and when I got married and had my child with my gathering experience maybe I am a better teacher.'*

Vellie has admitted that she mellowed as a teacher after she had her own children. With the insight gained from observing her own children's behaviour she had become more tolerant in the classroom, saw things from the learners' level as well and not just at a teacher's level. It has made her recognise individuality, that learners learn at different rates and levels. Carol added another dimension to this insight. As a teacher and parent, she had empathy not only for her charges but their parents as well. As a parent herself, she understood the other parents' problems. These women's input might imply that married women are more suitable for the job of teaching. In fact this kind of thinking does prevail in countries like Scotland, where, according to Peterson (1971), married women are given preference when selections are made for teaching or promotion posts in Scottish schools. This perspective is confirmed by Warnock's (1988:109) assertion : *'A 'schoolmistress' used to be despised because she was, typically, a spinster, and therefore thought to have a limited experience and a distorted view of life.'*

However, Edna challenged the notion of 'good mother-good teacher'. She asserted that a woman does not necessarily have to have her own children to be a good teacher. She said : *'I think there is that motherly or maternal instinct in every woman. I know. I have seen this in many women I have worked with.'*

To add another dimension to the complementary nature of motherhood and teaching, the respondents were asked if their job as teachers improved them as mothers and mentors to their own children. Most of the respondents said that this was the case but two had some reservations. Valerie said that although she used her experience to guide her sons but she is competent to tutor them in the languages only and she had to get outside help in other learning areas, especially the secondary subjects. Sagree, on the other hand, said that after being stressed out at school, she had neither the energy nor the tolerance to tutor her children. But Rubee and Sanbuga agreed the roles reciprocate each other. It emerged, however, that primary teachers and secondary teachers do not give their own children the same amount of attention. Rubee, a primary school teacher said : *You finish early, so you come early to your kids, by latest three... So you have enough time to do your work, homework and see to your children's schoolwork. And then there's holidays, weekends you are at home with them.*

In contrast, Vellie, a secondary school teacher said : ... *it is not an eight to three job, you don't finish your work at three. ... you're taking a lot home. ... You don't have the time to finish all the work at school. ... with the R & R, you have to teach so many more periods ... you don't have free time...*

From these women's perspectives, there appeared to be a better match between the roles of mother and teacher in the case of a primary teacher than a secondary teacher. Moreover, if Lewenhak's (1992) claim that domestic work and primary school teaching complement each other is valid, then the primary school teachers' work would fit the ideal role model - the 'good mother-good teacher' model. The deduction made from the two responses is that teaching and motherhood are reciprocal roles and that the primary school teacher has the time and scope to give more guidance and pastoral care to her own child. The primary teachers appeared to have more chances to fulfill the pastoral role of teachers as required by National Education Policy Document (Hartley et al, 1999). The researcher's hunch is that the primary teachers are more successful because the primary schools are more 'people driven' and the secondary schools more 'subject driven'.

The interviews revealed that there is a strong link between motherhood and teaching, especially primary school teaching. Teaching was perceived as an extension of domestic work - only on an advanced level. Therefore, women appear to be employed as teachers in larger numbers, especially in the primary schools. Teaching and motherhood were reciprocal roles and primary school teachers had more chances to give pastoral care as required by National Education Policy. In terms of sexual (social and cultural) division of labour, there appeared to be a good match between motherhood and teaching. However, Survey II, (B, 1.1., p.19) revealed that many women did not choose teaching as a career because of this factor.

8.2.5.5. Single Parenthood

What emerged from the responses was that the single parent households were created mainly by widowhood, divorce, migrant labour and unmarried mothers. Of the single parent respondents, Karin was a widow (White), Marie was a divorcee (Coloured), and Zee and Nkule were unmarried mothers (Africans). Rubea (Indian) was a casual single parent, in that her husband was a 'migrant worker' whose work drew him away from home for most of the

week days.

As the large majority of the single parents revealed in Survey II. (A1, 6, p.230), were unmarried or never married mothers, the enquiry focussed mainly on them, more particularly the African women. The line of enquiry attempted to establish why these women became and remained single parents and how they coped with the additional roles assumed by them.

Most respondents said that some women like to have children and at the same time they want to be independent. The interviews revealed that the African women teachers are now achievement motivated and their men who want them to be submissive cannot handle that. Several of the respondents said that these women did not want to marry the fathers of their children as they feared they might stifle them. Marie and Vellie reported that this trend seemed to be catching on with the Coloured and the Indian women teachers. Marie, seemingly a radical feminist, supported the single women's stance, saying '... as a woman, personally, there's absolutely no need for a man in your life. You only need a man when you want to have a baby. That's it.' This attitude was confirmed by Vellie who spoke about an unmarried Indian mother. She said : ' I have a teacher on my staff who slept with a man for the sole purpose because she wanted a child. ... And now she has got the child. She didn't get married. Nothing. She is a single parent.'

Van der Vliet (April 1984) also found evidence which confirms these women's attitude. An unmarried teacher, a mother of a daughter whose father she refused to marry, remarked : *There are lady teachers with whom I'm teaching - one is 56, one 30 - they'll never get married. Even the older ones don't want to marry. When you are getting a salary and this salary is enough and you manage everything, you see no reason why.*

Others have said that husbands were a liability. Not only did they spend their money on other concubines, they also drain them out of their resources. Moreover, these men became additional burdens for them to care for. Lapchick and Urdang (1982) examined the plight of single mothers in rural areas in South Africa. One of their subjects spoke out bitterly : *Marriage is not worthwhile for us black women. It traps us. Men are having it all right in town with their girlfriends and money, while we must keep home on empty pockets and empty promises...*

The interviews also revealed that some women valued children and independence so highly that they chose concubinage in preference to marriage. Nkule revealed that she was a concubine to the father of her child. Gugu, a married woman with children, explained that '... *some women will say that a married man is better than an unmarried man is. And a woman will choose not to marry and choose a married man to look after her.*'

Evidence from literature also supports this argument. For example, Hay & Stichter (1995:90-1) report that :

In modern times, African women from a variety of educational and socio-economic backgrounds are also choosing not to marry. Some are mistresses or 'outside wives' who prefer such relationships to marriage for greater independence and economic benefits such unions sometimes provide.

On the other hand, Schapera (1942:38) asserts that it was the elimination of polygamy that has led to the spread of concubinage.

However, most of the women said that single mothers valued their independence more than everything else. They wanted to have identities of their own, they did not want to be defined in relation to their husbands and they wanted to make their own decisions. Zee had this to say:... *women of today don't want to be dependent. We want to do our own thing. I want to decide. I want to think. When I feel this must be done, I don't want somebody to come and over-rule that because of my gender. (vide 8.2.8.2.)*

Kuzwayo (in Van der Vliet, 1984) also says that '*all too often a jealous husband has prevented his wife from fulfilling her potentialities, and so we are witnessing today the emergence of that new thing, entirely in African traditional society, the unmarried independent career woman.*' It is agreed that jealous husbands can be the main obstacles to career women's progress. There is anecdotal evidence from respondents like Gugu (vide 8.2.6.1.) and evidence from literature which amply vindicate Kuzwayo's assertion. But literature also reveals other agents such as fathers, mothers and other relatives could also obstruct women's progress by forcing on them early and/or unwanted marriages. For example, Marks (1987) and Hughes (in Walker, 1990) cite cases where fathers and other significant relatives in African culture subject their girls to early and unwanted marriages, motivated by bridewealth. Beall (1982) and Jithoo (1970) found that early and/or arranged marriages were

very common among Indians, just because the parents placed the chastity of their girls above everything else. The general sense is that the more plucky African girls escaped from such situations by fleeing to places of safety like the Inanda Seminary (Hughes in Walker, 1990) but the Indian girls appear to have been trapped in tradition until recently.

Many women indicated that single parents have added roles such as the father and the breadwinner. Most of the mothers said that it was a daunting task to be both mothers and the 'fathers' to their children. Those who lived in extended families said that they were the breadwinners also. Nkule admitted that her task became so trying at times that she wished she could get married so that her husband could share her burdens. On the contrary, Rubee, who was a single parent for part of the week said :... *my husband is not here most part of the week days because of his job. Then I play that role of a 'father' to the children quite, eh, satisfactorily, I should say ... well when he's around, then I make sure that he takes over that role.* (vide 8.2.7.1.)

The independent single parent perspective was not without its opposition. Two respondents, Vellie and Valerie, while recognising these radical feminists' perspectives, had themselves opted for a socialist feminist approach. They said that they did not reject marriage nor did they view their husbands as obstacles to their progress. They were emphatic that there was a large measure of independence in marriage but it would depend on the kind of man a woman chose for a husband and the sort of relationship she developed with him. Like Rubee's assertion cited above, all of the women felt that their children needed the fathers' influence as well as that of their mothers'.

Two categories of women teachers surfaced in the interviews - the radical feminists and socialist feminists. The radical feminists avoided marriage although they had sexual liaisons purely to have children, whom they value as their independence. The other category of women, although not actually condemnatory of the radical feminists, insist that there is a good measure of independence in marriage, depending on the compatibility of the spouses. Viewed from a socio-cultural perspective the unmarried single mothers pose a challenge to the institutions of marriage and the family.

8.2.5.6. Unmarried Status

Twelve respondents were questioned on their attitude towards unmarried women teachers to establish whether they approved of women's rejection of marriage in favour of their profession (professional advancement and promotion).

Nine of the respondents disapproved of the unmarried women's decision to reject marriage but five watered down their disapproval by attributing it to their personal choices. These women indicated that their work as teachers and marriage were very compatible and that they would never have sacrificed marriage for their profession. (vide 8.2.5.4.) Three of the pro-marriage women, Carol, Valerie and Vellie, were sceptical of whether women in actual fact decide to remain single simply to make advancement in their profession. Valerie and Vellie suggested that this category of women probably choose not to marry for other reasons and thereafter immersed themselves in their jobs. Carol felt that these women probably could not find anyone to marry them. One of the other pro-marriage respondents, Nkule, said: '*I don't think that is a right choice. I think work is part of one's life. It's not one's whole life.*' This attitude coincides with Carol's outlook, that her marriage and family made her a '*whole person.*' (vide 8.2.5.1.)

From their personal perspectives, some of the Indian, Coloured and White women teachers indicated they still cleaved to traditional institutions such as marriage and family and endeavoured to marry them with their work as teachers. They claimed that they were successful. This claim rejects in part the assumption that married women teachers with families are not as effective as single women teachers. There is justification for their claims, however, from the point of view of the two respondents (African and White) who claimed that the combination of marriage and work made them 'whole persons', for example. It implies that this 'whole person' identity boosts their socio-psychological worth as teachers. If the combination is rewarding, it stands to reason that their effectiveness as teachers would be enhanced. The White respondent made this claim. (vide 8.2.5.1.)

Joshi and Shukla (1995) also refute the idea that women's desire to adopt a career is a cause of their failure to marry. They say that it is generally felt that the education of women has resulted in the increase in the number of spinsters. It is argued, for example, that women graduates in India become teachers rather than wives, and that their economic independence makes them postpone marriage to an age when it becomes difficult for them to get married.

Joshi and Shukla (1995) assert that statistical studies even in western countries have failed to justify most of these arguments.

In contradiction, three married respondents, Gugu, Sagree and Valerie, conceded that unmarried women teachers, unencumbered by husbands and families were freer to move up the ladder in their profession. Gugu who was promoted recently to the post of Co-ordinator of School Governance in KZNDEC had this to say: *When I was single, mobility was easier. I had no responsibilities and really nobody to explain to although I lived in an extended family.* The Coloured woman added that *as a married woman your husband is an extra person that you will look after. ... (Being a single woman) ... gives me more time to do my job.* (Writer's addition).

Sagree also supported the argument in one breath but she contradicted it in the next breath. She said: *... I would say at this stage that it is not worth itbecause look what the profession has come to. You've given up so much. You've given up a chance of having a spouse to spend your last days with, children, a family and you didn't do it because to you your career was more important. But look what this career has become. You're now going to retire and who are you going to retire with? So to me it's a lonely life that's not worth giving up a family for.*

These women have a practical sense that free women would have the time, energy and space to devote themselves to their profession. But what is remarkable is that these women were married. Whether or not they were married through personal choice or through social and cultural pressures, they pointed to a social enigma - the discrepancy between the ideal and reality. The ideal might be a celibate woman who would devote herself to her profession and grow in it, and the reality is a married woman who teaches, cares for her husband and children and takes responsibility for all the household affairs. A few of the respondents admitted that the role-juggling became tough at times but the majority 'denied' this through their silence. This denial is the enigma as feminist literature abounds with the harm role-juggling causes to women (Lewenhak, 1992, Crosby and Jaskar in Oskamp and Costanzo, 1993).

Hilda, a married White respondent, added another dimension to the debate. She said that some unmarried women despised the married ones. They often accused the married women of lacking in commitment to teaching because they take time off to attend to family commitments and caring for children, for example. Now, the attitude of the unmarried women appears to be

and caring for children, for example. Now, the attitude of the unmarried women appears to be in stark contrast to the professional manner in which the respondents said that the teachers treated pregnant women (vide Survey II, B, 2.3., p. 240-241). However, literature provides ample evidence to vindicate the respondent's complaints about the bickering spinsters who begrudge married women teachers who take time off (Ponnusamy, 1995; Venter in HSRC Report, 1977). Hilda refuted this accusation and contended that the married women were the backbone of the teaching profession. Sharma and Sharma (1995), Peterson (1971), Garrett (1960), Balfour (1903), Dent (1961), Curtis and Boulwood (1962) and Hansen (1960) also found that the women teachers especially the married women, are the backbone of any teaching force that provides mass education.

Generally, there were serious doubts about the suggestion that some women teachers remained single in order to make advancements in their profession. Even in the few instances where this was the case, the respondents were sceptical that these women remained single just for this. The majority were emphatic that they would never have sacrificed their marriage for professional advancement. A few women concede that single women had more chances of making advancement in their profession but no-one conceded that the single women made more contributions to education. The debate revolved around socio-cultural issues.

8.2.6. Conditions of Service

8.2.6.1. Maternity Leave

Fifteen of the respondents have had children while they were teaching. All the White women and one Coloured woman, Tracy, had resigned before each confinement and spent long periods, depending on the economic circumstances, with their children before returning to teaching. Three Coloured women and four Indian women had taken maternity leave in old and new dispensations. The older teachers said that they had to utilise their accumulated vacation leave to draw full pay or, alternatively, had taken leave without pay. The African women did not take full leave available to expectant women. Because of their economic deprivations in the old order, they were forced to delay leave-taking until the last moment and return to work as soon as possible, leaving the babies with their mothers or other members of the extended families. These women's hardiness resembles that of the Alorese women whom Oakley (1974)

of vegetable produce, spend considerable time away from home. Within a fortnight of the birth of their child, the women return to the fields, leaving the infant in the care of a sibling, the father or a grandparent. (vide 8.2.7.5.) The White and Coloured teachers who severed ties with teaching for long periods might be accused of wastage. After all, they received their qualifications at state expense and their withdrawal meant depriving educational services of their expertise (Sharma & Sharma, 1995 ; Mentor, April 1950). But , Sanbuga, the Indian principal defended these women's withdrawal. In mitigation, she said : *You will find that if the teacher had taken ten years, she is prepared to give her best to her family, and would leave her family secured, come back to school. Now, it is a different scenario. ... She is not taking leave in dribs and drabs.*

Evidence from literature vindicates this respondent's defence to the extent that she means that the children are given the best attention in their infancy and early childhood, as Lewenhak (1992) equates the training the mothers give at home to their children with teaching in the classroom. (vide 8.2.5.4.)

In the new dispensation all the younger teachers are deriving the benefits of paid maternity leave. Fifteen of the women, both young and old, unanimously denounced the Govt's restricting the granting of maternity leave for two children only. They perceived this as a subtle way of controlling the birth rate. They felt that nobody had the right to decide on how many children a woman should have. Just one woman, paradoxically an African unmarried mother, Nkule, said that the Govt was justified in granting leave twice only. She provided two reasons for her response : a) More leave means increased financial liability for the Govt. b) Women might have too many children they cannot feed. However, all the women recommended that maternity leave be extended so that mothers could spent more time with the newly-born.

In short, the White women withdrew from service, the Coloured and Indian women took paid and unpaid leave and the African women hardly took leave because of economic difficulties when they had children. The withdrawal and non-withdrawal from service were debatable in terms of socialisation of the children, wastage, commitment to the profession etc. The new dispensation had proved to be unsatisfactory to many as it subtly restricted the number of children a women could have. The discussions took on a socio-cultural and a strong economic

children a women could have. The discussions took on a socio-cultural and a strong economic perspectives.

8.2.6.2. Pension

This line of enquiry was to ascertain whether women felt empowered or if they derived a new identity now that there is parity in pension contributions and the fact they could now leave their pension benefits to their spouses or other beneficiaries. When asked how they felt about leaving pension benefits to their spouses or other dependents, Marie said : *'If I could make my husband my dependent by leaving my pension to him, it does empower me.'*

In fact, most of the women teachers indicated that they felt empowered, which has psychological implications for them. It also gave them a new identity in the sense that their husbands could now be regarded as their dependents. Many women were delighted with the idea that they could now leave their benefits even to their children or other beneficiaries. They said that they felt elated that their worth as workers and providers has been enhanced. But some of the older women complained that they were aware that their pension payouts will not be equal to their male counterparts as their previous lower contributions to the pension fund, the interruptions in service, the late entry into the teaching service etc would seriously count against them when payouts are calculated. Vellie pointed out that the Africans would be the most disadvantaged as a result of their late entry into the service. A few women wanted the Govt to upgrade their pensions so that they could be placed on a par with males. However, a few women stated that they had taken contingency measures, in that they were investing privately in preparation for shortfalls in their retirement.

Three of the African respondents, averred that the new dispensation empowered them. They were of the opinion that it merely righted the wrongs of the unjust past. Tracy played down the empowerment issue. She said : *' Women are empowered in the same way that men had felt empowered all along.'*

Generally, the women felt empowered now that they could leave their pension benefits to their spouses or other beneficiaries. That their husbands could now be their dependents somewhat, gave them a new identity. But the older teachers were low-spirited because their payouts

would certainly be lower than their male counterparts as a result of their lower contributions in the past. In the old order, economic and political influences impacted on pensions but now there is a third dimension - the psychological.

8.2.7. Other Factors Affecting Women Teachers' Lives

8.2.7.1. Religion

The intention was to ascertain whether the overwhelming Christian composition of KZN women teachers still impacted on the largely Christian ethos left in education by the CNE. There was strong denial from all the women, except four that there was Christian indoctrination taking place in the classrooms. Those who consciously imparted religious knowledge claimed that they gave all religions due respect. Of the four who were different, two African women, Lindiwe and Nkule, admitted they openly indoctrinated their learners as their schools were Christian mission schools. They claimed that every learner in their schools was a Christian. The other two women, Valerie and Vellie, said that they felt that the Christian character of the CNE still prevailed and that the teachers, although bound by the Constitution of South Africa, inadvertently influenced the learners. When asked whether teachers belonging to other religions overtly or covertly indoctrinated the children, Vellie said that she knew two strict Muslim women who overtly indoctrinated Muslim learners. She said that at her present school one woman openly reprimanded Muslim girls who associated with boys who were not Muslim. At her last school, one Muslim woman gathered all the Muslim girls together at the beginning of the year and told them who their friends were and that they should keep to them.

It was found that generally the Christian ethos spawned by the CNE was still prevalent in schools but few teachers indoctrinate the children deliberately. There were isolated cases of indoctrination which happened outside the classroom eg. the Islamic women teachers. There was no direct political influence on religious education in the schools studied.

8.2.7.2. Culture

8.2.7.2.1. Patriarchy

The respondents said that the Zulus are still extremely patriarchal whereas Indians and Afrikaner Whites have mellowed in comparison. Gugu asserted that the African men were not ready to meet the challenges of women's liberation and empowerment. This accusation was also levelled at Indian men. Valerie said: *'The Indian men are still trapped in some kind of time warp. ..They seem to think very patriarchally.'*

Professional match or mismatch of the spouses seemed to take second place to patriarchy in the lives of women teachers. Patriarchy seemed to hold sway in the households of most of the women teachers. Gugu expressed veiled disappointment that her husband who was also a teacher can be domineering at times. Explaining that she got involved in many educational activities in the lecturing community, she said: *' .. Well my husband is not as understanding as I would love him to be. ... Sometimes I have to do explanation.'*

Tracy, married to a medical doctor, said that her husband had mellowed over the years. Asked if he now shares her chores somewhat, she said: *'No.'* Patriarchy works at a different level in the case of Rubee, the Indian woman who acted as a father to her children when her husband, also a professional teacher, was absent for most of the weekdays. When he returned, she not only relinquished the 'acting post of father', she insisted that he resumed the father role.(vide 8.2.5.2. & 8.2.5.5.).

The general sense is that patriarchy prevails in most of the households under review but it seemed that in the White household it was fairly invisible. Except the Afrikaner woman, all the White women did not say whether or not the White men or even their husbands were really patriarchal.

Gugu provided a peephole to see how patriarchy works in the workplace. Being promoted recently to a management position in the KZNDEC, she found herself facing patriarchy operating at a different level. She said: *We do find men, ...who are open minded, but they are very few. The culture still plays a very dominant role in not being able to cope with*

women who are in powerful positions.'

Generally, it was found that patriarchy influenced the lives of all women teachers studied. It had the strongest hold on African women and to a lesser extent on Indian women. The women of the other race groups, however, felt patriarchy's control indirectly.

8.2.7.2.2. Number of Children

The number of children each woman teacher had was established to get an idea of the workload/responsibilities she had as a mother. It emerged that the African women had the most number of children because the African men like to have many children. Vellie felt that African men tend to believe that more children means more wealth. Therefore they tend to have children from different women through the practice of polygyny and concubinage. Guy (in Walker, 1990:40-2) also implies that children mean wealth, more especially in economies other than industrialised ones. Guy's discussion centres on the fertility of women in pre-colonial times and agrarian societies where the production process depended to a large extent on the reproduction of women (the children to supply the labour). In addition, having girl children meant added wealth to the fathers. The accumulation of cattle was a major social objective of men. One way of acquiring cattle was by marrying off the girls. From this perspective, it is argued that more daughters meant more cattle.

Briefly, it was found that African women teachers generally have more children than other women. Some women procreated in concubinage and some in several sexual relationships. African men were described as people who like to have many children. The cultural practice of having large families appeared to burden the African women teachers.

8.2.7.2.3. Lobola

The interviews revealed that when couples want to marry, according to Zulu culture it is the man who initiates marriage. Zee said that her 'boyfriend' did not initiate marriage because he could not afford the *lobola*. (vide 8.2.5.1.) And many of the other women said that the inability to pay *lobola* might be one of the major factors causing single parenthood. Cora Hexter (1996) while expressing similar sentiments about *lobola*, says that cash rather than

cattle is now transferred to the bride's family. Hexter continues that the men cannot afford the *lobola* nowadays because the price is too high. This forces the couples to enter into informal unions, which results in the procreation of illegitimate children and the women, therefore, have no legal protection at all. (vide 8.2.5.1.)

Lobola was found to have its advantages and disadvantages. The study revealed that many African couples nowadays enter into informal unions because the men cannot afford the *lobola*. From a religious and cultural perspective, the insistence on *lobola* appeared to be an obstacle to couples who wanted to marry. This appears to be a destabilising factor in the lives of some women teachers who wanted to marry and lead settled lives.

8.2.7.2.4. Attitude to the Girl Child's education

The education of girls was a cultural problem in all race groups, but the problem was severest amongst the Africans. Traditionally, there was a belief that you do not send a girl child to school because she will marry one day and leave you (Shayi, 1996). The educated parents broke away from this tradition.

These were the responses of Gugu whose father was a school principal :

GUGU : In (Zulu) tradition there is a belief that you do not send a girl to school.

RESEARCHER : Are you a Zulu?

GUGU : Yes, but my father was educated.

The above respondent is presently a doctoral student but she still suffers to some extent under a patriarchal husband who is also a teacher. (vide 8.2.7.2.1.)

Rubee said that most Indian parents, compared to Whites, Africans and Coloured, were still very conservative and strict. Their daughters were jealously guarded, sheltered and kept in school until they complete their studies. When they have careers they are freer and they could choose their marriage partners. This teacher's response reflects an about-turn in the attitudes of the Indian parents described by Rambiritch (1955), Osman (1971) and Kuper (1960). But Kuper (1960) notes that the changes in Indian thinking on women's education began in the 1930's.

The interviews revealed that the girl child's education was curtailed for various reasons of a cultural nature, especially in the African communities but educated parents did not discriminate against their daughters. Most Indian parents still exercised control over their daughters but education had transformed them as they gave girls' education much emphasis.

8.2.7.2.5. Childcare

This issue was investigated to see how as working mothers, these teachers coped with childcare. All the White women and the one Coloured woman who resigned to have their babies indicated that they did not have many problems from their perspective. Most of the other women said that they left their babies in the care of parents, relatives and maids. Most of the women said that in the African and Indian cultures the grandmothers and members of the extended or joint families provided support services for working women.

Rubee and Sanbuga said that their children received excellent care from their grandparents. Rubee said : *A I had a good person, my mother-in-law to help with the kids at ...if they were not taken good care of, my husband or I would have decided to resign.*' Vahed (1995), Kuper (1955) and Jithoo (1970) are unanimous that the Indian joint family system had the best support service for the betterment of all the members of the family. It had moral, economic and religious force holding the family together. This involved the ties of kinship and sharing of love, labour, food and property by the members. Childcare was one important part of the labour sharing process in which mostly the older people were involved (ibid).

Some of the respondents said that it was likely that the African women teachers left their children on the farms with their mothers. In African culture, it was a practice which began with the introduction of the migrant labour system (Lapchick & Urdang, 1982; Bernstein, 1975).

Lapchick and Urdang (1982) found that the women left in the African reserves by the migrant labourers found it absolutely impossible to live off the land and they took their husbands' route. They left their children in the care of the older women in the family and went in search of work in the towns. Oakley (1974) also cites the Alorese women in Indonesia, who leave

their children with the menfolk or other members of the extended families and go off to the neighbouring villages to work in the fields for several days on end. (vide 8.2.6.1.) Haralambos (1984) found that childcare in the Israeli kibbutzim is a community activity. The parents and children are separated and only meet for limited periods per day. The communal fathers and mothers are responsible for their care. Of course, this ideology has its advantages and disadvantages (discussed by Haralambos from a western perspective). (vide 8.2.6.1.)

Literature on childcare in some other cultures manifests a challenge to stereotypes (eg western) that childcare of necessity devolves on the mother in the first place or another woman. The examples of the Alorese and the Israeli kibbutzim confirm the belief that there is no psychological basis for the argument that the natural mother and the social should be the same person. That the Alorese menfolk undertake childcare serves to challenge the notion that women are more suitable for childcare work.

It was found that the more affluent women teachers either resigned to care for their children or hired maids to do the job, but most of the Black women left their children with members of the extended family. Childcare devolved on the womenfolk; only one woman hinted that her husband would have undertaken it if necessary. Most of the women recognised the fact that childcare was an important part of division of labour in the extended family. From this perspective, childcare falls in the domain of social or cultural division of labour based on sex.

8.2.7.2.6. Integration of Cultures

Most of the Black respondents said that with the racial integration of schools, the teachers' task was difficult. Valerie, for example, said that the racial integration in the classroom posed a big challenge to teachers. In her case, as an English teacher she had to teach a large number of Africans who were English Second Language speakers. She said that teaching was now more difficult. They had to teach large classes and, more importantly, according to Sanbuga, they had to teach students from different cultural backgrounds. Many of the women said pointedly that having lived in cocooned societies, the teachers did not have enough knowledge of other cultures to be effective enough in mixed classrooms.

On the contrary, Carol and Karin were less pessimistic. They said that integration in education

had opened up 'a whole new scenario'. Carol said : *'We get to know the different cultures. To me it has added a whole new dimension to my teaching.'* Karin said that the *'cross-pollination of ideas'* is enriching to teachers as they are interacting with others and sharing ideas. When asked how this helps her school, she explained that she used these ideas to make hers a dynamic school which offers high quality teaching to attract learners. (vide 8.2.4.). However, the researcher is of the opinion that these White women were most comfortable with the integration because their schools were well resourced and the admission of learners was done selectively. Information for this selection was provided by Karin. When asked how her teachers coped with teaching English to Zulu first language speakers, if, for example, the teachers switched codes to aid these learners, she replied : *'No, because children who come here know that English is the medium of instruction. They come here to improve it.'* Implicit in the response is that some kind of selection takes place in order admit only the learners who are fairly competent in English. It is contended, therefore, that the quality of learners and the excellent resources would make the racial/cultural integration more manageable for the White women teachers. Support for this conclusion is found in Tracy's input. (vide 8.2.1.) Nevertheless, these women appear to be life-long learners, in that they met with other teachers and shared ideas about different cultures with the aim of solving problems arising in the teaching and learning situation (Harley et al, 1999). Since their concerns were the learners from different cultures, the writer's hunch is that they are likely to be designers of learning programmes in addition to their traditional roles of mediators of learning and providers of pastoral care, all of which are the requirements under the National Education Policies (ibid). Furthermore, their strategy of getting outside assistance rather than relying on their experiences and narrow classroom practices makes them extended professionals, according Hoyle's theory (cited in Harley et al, 1999).

In essence, racial and cultural integration has created many problems for teachers. The lack of knowledge of others' cultures and languages were cited as the major problems in the teaching/learning situations. Some women were taking the initiative to address the problems by interacting with teachers of other cultures and sharing ideas. From a political perspective this attitude satisfies certain requirements set out in the National Education Policies.

8.2.8. Women Teachers' Empowerment and Identity Formation

8.2.8.1. Emancipation

This theme emerged from the investigation into issues like divorce, single parenthood and the greater representation of Whites and Coloureds in management positions and the teaching of Maths and Science. The general sense is that the most liberated women were the Whites, followed by the Coloured, Indians and then the Africans. Vellie and Sanbuga observed that the White women's greater measure of freedom allowed them more chances of success and more mobility in their jobs. (vide 8.2.8.3.)

All of the respondents were unanimous that the Indian women were the most liberated in recent times in that they were taking bold and decisive steps such as divorcing or remaining as unmarried single parents. Most of the respondents said that the African women teachers were also liberated as evidenced by their choice to remain as unmarried single parents. But there were others who said that the African women were still enslaved by their men in relationships such as polygyny and concubinage.(vide 8.2.5.5.) The Coloureds appear to be strongly influenced by western culture.

The Black women were emphatic that the greater presence in managerial positions of the White women was indicative of their emancipation dating a long way back. They added that the Whites were more likely to move from teaching to other jobs, as their jobs were more diversified, perhaps emanating from their privileges of the past.

Briefly, the Indian women were not house-bound anymore. They are liberated by societal changes and they now establish various social relationships. This emancipation added to their education and economic independence empowered them so as to take bold steps such as divorce. (vide 8.2.5.2.) The African women were still trapped in patriarchy to a large extent but the Whites and Coloureds were the most liberated.

8.2.8.2. Independence

The interviews revealed that the younger women, three Coloureds, two Africans and one

Indian said that women teachers enjoyed some measure of independence now. Zee said : *'Gone are the days when we were dependent on men. We are supporting ourselves. We have cars. We have houses.'* In another context she said that she wanted *'to think'* and *'to decide'* on her own. (vide 8.2.5.5.). Evidence from the literature is that the Ganda women also use their traditional unmarried statuses to gain economic independence from their men and therefore have no use for marriage (Kuzwayo cited in Van der Vliet, 1984).

Briefly, the study revealed that some women, especially the Africans, sought and valued independence, and they could go to the extent of remaining unmarried to get this independence.

8.2.8.3. Opportunities

The respondents said that although women were in the majority in education, few of them were represented in the upper management positions. It was still men who were in control : they disseminated information; they made the rules; they took the important decisions and they still had the power to employ and dismiss teachers. This is confirmed by Narsi (in Teachers Journal of TASA, 30,3, 1990:17). Although, White and Coloured women were better represented in management positions, Karin complained that there were not as many (White) female principals as men. Zee complained that she had been disadvantaged not because she was a woman but because she was an African. This woman's complaint appears to be ironical as most of the Coloured and Indian women complained that racism was being perpetuated by the affirmative action where the Africans are given preferential treatment. (vide 8.2.8.4.). Moreover it is a contradiction of popular feminist theory that sexism is far more invisible and formidable than racism. Sanbuga complained that men in historically Indian schools blocked women's promotion because they felt threatened by women. Valerie confirmed that this was also the position in historically Coloured schools. All those who complained about the lack of promotional opportunities were the older women.

Another dimension to this problem emerged from the interviews. Several Black women said that they became teachers because other opportunities were not open to them. In the Apartheid regime, teaching and nursing were the only two professions open to Black females. This position is confirmed by Ismail (1994). Many were influenced by their parents to choose

teaching. Linidiwe pointed out that most of the White and Coloured women chose to become teachers because they liked teaching, whereas in the case of Africans teaching was the only option.(vide 8.2.1.)

Another factor which limited opportunities for Blacks, especially the Africans was the quality of Matric pass. Zee put it like this : *' No, the results determined a person's opportunities. I did not have exemption, so I could not go to university.'* Students in this category could have proceeded only to a college of education. And the African women said that their education was different from others; they had no laboratories and other resources and therefore their matric results were inferior. They added that Whites and Coloureds had better education and therefore they are better represented in the teaching of Maths and Science.

In conclusion, it emerged in the interviews that men were still in control of education in spite of the majority of teachers being women. The White women were relatively better placed as many were in management positions and many taught Maths and the Sciences. In contrast, the Black women, especially the Africans, were not well placed as a result of their inferior Apartheid education and the lack of opportunities in the past. Arguments on their opportunities emerged from a political perspective in the main.

8.2.8.4. Affirmative action

The respondents appreciated the fact that women were recognised as a disadvantaged group in the old order and an effort was being made to rectify imbalances. In the promotion process, gender was being considered and women were getting more positions of power. Karin made this point: *'I do believe the Dept Officials can now see that women are good managers.'*

However, the surveys and the interviews revealed that a large number of the Indians and some Coloureds were disgruntled. They felt that the authorities were favouring the Africans and marginalising them in the Affirmative action process. When it came to appointments and promotions, qualifications and merit were not given due consideration. They equated affirmative action to racial discrimination. In the interviews, Sagree had this to say : *' ... affirmative action is not a good thing because people are not promoted on their calibre, it's more on the colour of your skin. ... because we are a shade lighter it puts us down.'* Similar

sentiments were expressed by the other women. Yet not all the women condemned it from a racial point of view; a few saw it in gender terms. Valerie, for example, said '*... but I would hate to get a job just because I am a female. I want to get a job because I have the ability.*' All the Africans and three of the Whites avoided the subject discretely.

Generally, the women said that the affirmative action was useful for the purpose of righting the wrongs of the past but a few said that it should not remain forever. They insisted that when the purpose is achieved it should be discontinued and, thereafter the worth of the candidate should be considered above everything else.

8.2.9. The Economics of Education and Teaching

8.2.9.1. Salaries

Most of the respondents said that teaching was not a well paid job. Denise put it like this : '*It was never a well paid job. It's the worst paid profession.*' To add to it, Marie said : '*... my husband was a teacher but he had to resign because salary was inadequate. As a carpenter, he is now better paid and in addition he get over-time pay.*'

As immediate redress, the women want their salaries to be raised to link with inflation. Zee recommended the reinstatement of the incremental system. But Rubee saw the salary issue differently. She said : '*I'm personally very happy with my salary. ... maybe the private sector would double my salary but I would have to work until five and six ...on a Saturday and ...Sunday ... I'm not going to sacrifice my family life for extra money. With the money I'm earning now I can teach my children to have a little less in life.*'

This respondent's input means that the teachers need to cut the garment to suit the cloth. It might be worth considering, as literature informs this study that teaching is the worst paid profession the world over (Warnock, 1988; Peterson, 1971; Sharma & Sharma, 1995). It is argued that no Govt can afford to pay teachers salaries that other professions such as medicine and law pay. Recently, even the legal workers like the prosecutors were up in arms in South Africa over the pay issue. So, Rubee's attitude might serve to ameliorate the teachers' lot, psychologically at least.

In conclusion, it was revealed that teaching was not a well-paid job anywhere in the world. Whilst one woman implicitly recommended frugality as a strategy for survival, others wanted inflation-linked salaries.

8.2.9.2. Affordability

Five of the respondents, one Indian, three Africans and one White indicated that they had other ambitions than teaching but their parents' financial hardships did not allow them to fulfill them. Instead, the parents chose the cheaper way to make them professionals, that is teachers. The women were interrogated to find reasons for African women's fewer years of teaching service. All the women recognised the fact that the African women were the most disadvantaged people. Zee said: *I am 31 and I have 9 years service. I spent three years without studying because my parents did not have the money. There are many women like me.*

The women in this category had disrupted their schooling, worked for a few years and resumed studies when conditions improved. It had taken them relatively longer time to complete their secondary education. Even their tertiary education could have been affected similarly.

In essence, it emerged that economics was an important factor in determining the careers of the women teachers. Parents found that teaching was certainly the cheapest way of making their daughters professionals.

8.2.9.3. Teaching for Bread and Butter

Twelve of the women said that they were working to increase the family income. Nobody indicated that her salary was supplementary to her husband's income. In fact, Hilda and Carol intimated that their businessmen husbands were heavily dependent on them because the economy was in recession. The three African single parents and the White widow indicated they were the breadwinners to their families.

In brief, the interviews revealed that income from teaching was an important part of the family income for most of the women teachers.

8.2.9.4. Teaching for Middle Class Status

None of the White women indicated that teaching was a well paid job with any status. Only Hilda said that it had some status in the Afrikaans community.(vide 8.2.3.) Therefore, from that perspective, teaching was not seen as a vehicle for middle class status. But, most of the Black teachers, especially the Indians, saw teaching as a well-paid job, with fairly high status. Furthermore, a large number indicated that their parents either chose or influenced them to choose teaching as a career. Either way, teaching appears to have been considered a vehicle to acquire middle class status.

It emerged that teaching was a means of gaining class status for most of the Black teachers but not the White teachers, for whom it was neither a well-paid job nor a job with any kind of status generally.

8.3. Summary of Some Minor Themes

Most of the minor issues centred on women's work environment. First, there were a few unreported cases of sexual harassment and abuse. Sexual harassment took mainly in the form of jokes and sexual innuendos, perpetrated by male teachers and learners against married and unmarried women. There was one case of abuse - where a White male principal forced Hilda, a married White woman to resign when she became pregnant in the old regime. The reason appeared to be his intense dislike of women. Second, the women felt unsafe at the schools or en route to work because of the theft, robberies and hijackings. Schools were soft targets for gangs and in some areas the learners were in cahoots with the gangsters, supplying them with information on teachers. Third, from the political perspective, teachers of one race group were unwelcome at schools which were historically of other race groups. It appeared to be the main reason for the failure of the redeployment process. Fourth, although women were in the majority in the teaching profession they were still under-represented in the positions of power. Fifth, there was a culture of collegiality at schools, for, in times of crises - divorces, grief, retrenchment/redeployment, etc - the teachers rallied round and supported their colleagues.

8.4. Resume

The Black women teachers neither derived job satisfaction nor were they secure in their jobs. The Govt's vacillating education policies, especially the R&R policies, and the under-funding of education proved to be the root causes of their problems. The large class sizes, learners' indiscipline, and the non-recognition afforded them no job satisfaction. Their job insecurity stemmed from the R&R policies - the arbitrary transfers and no job guarantees. The position of the White women was different, with their superior resources and security of tenure they derived satisfaction from teaching. They taught in schools where class sizes were small because of parents' financial support, learners were from better socio-economic backgrounds making them easier to teach, and the school culture was congenial for teaching and learning.

The status of teachers and the teaching profession was at the lowest ebb in all communities. In addition to the negative factors cited above, the attitude of the education officials, parents, learners and the teachers themselves had diminished the status to such an extent that the youth were actively discouraged from choosing teaching as a career. As a result, the professional image of the teacher has been eroded. The younger teachers did little to improve this image because of the non-recognition of their qualifications and their job insecurity. The more optimistic women teachers called for a change of attitude from the teachers.

The majority of the women teachers intimated that marriage was an important part of their life: it appeared to be obligatory on them as it gave them new identities. Divorce, on the other hand, has been avoided by women of the Indian and African cultures until recently. With erudition and westernisation they were resorting to divorce as an escape route from unhappy marriages. The pro-marriage women juggled roles such as wives, mothers and teachers. They managed these roles and derived satisfaction from fulfilling all of them. They complained vehemently about the low pay for teaching but they said nothing about no pay for their housework. Their work as mothers and teachers were seen as complementary roles by many. The women who rejected marriage placed their independence above marriage. The women in this category who wanted to have children chose sexual liaisons outside marriage. There was no real condemnation of these women's way of life from the pro-marriage women but some of them insisted that independence could be found within marriage. These pro-marriage women were even sceptical that women would avoid marriage just because they wanted to devote

themselves to teaching and make advancement in it. They argued that they remained single for other reasons and thereafter devoted themselves to the profession. In their dynamics, marriage came before their profession but a few did concede that single women have better chances of growth in the profession.

In terms of conditions of service, the issues of salaries, maternity leave and pensions were dissected. The women were dissatisfied about all three. The low salaries of teachers did much to diminish their status. Although, there were improvements in maternity leave and pensions in the new dispensation, there were aspects which caused dissatisfaction. Paid maternity leave for two children only was construed as a form of birth control. Leaving pension benefits to spouses gave them a new identity, that is of providers to their husbands, but they complained that the older teachers complained they would be disadvantaged as a result of their lower contributions to the pension fund in the past. The women called for this matter to be rectified.

Patriarchy influenced the lives of all the women interviewed. It had the strongest influence on the African and Indian women and to a lesser degree on the Coloured and White women. Decisions about the number of children, the girl-child's education and marriage were taken by men. In the African communities, large families were common, thus burdening the women; in African and Indian cultures the girls' education was curtailed as it was believed that educating females was no benefit to the family. Some African men did not marry the mothers of their children or deferred marriage because they could not afford the *lobola*.

More affluent women resigned or hired maids to care for their children but the African and Indian women left their children with the older folk at home, mostly women. Racial and cultural integration in the classroom made teaching and learning difficult as the teachers and learners did not have adequate knowledge of other cultures and languages. Some teachers met the challenge by informing themselves of the new developments in education.

Emancipation and independence were complementary. The Indian women were the most liberated in recent times as they were emboldened to divorce their husbands to terminate unhappy marriages. The African women valued their independence so much that some resorted to stay out of marriage and yet have children.

The White women teachers were well placed as more of them were found to be in management positions and teachers of Maths and Sciences. This was perceived to be the result of their privileged positions in the old regime. But the Affirmative Action policies of the Govt appeared not have changed the position much. In fact, the Indian and Coloured women complained that they were being marginalised and that the African women were favoured.

The majority of the Black women had other ambitions but had no financial support to fulfil them. Therefore, they found teaching was the cheapest way of becoming professionals. In the Black communities teaching was the vehicle to gain middle class status. Income from teaching was not only an important part of the family income it also made the family more affluent.

Sexual harassment and abuse, theft, robbery and hijacking made the work environment unsafe for the women teachers. Schools were soft targets in recent times. At some historically race-designated schools, teachers of other race groups were not welcome, partly contributing to the failure of the R&R scheme, but at most schools a culture of collegiality prevailed.

The next chapter presents some significant conclusions and a summary of the study as a whole. Thereafter, some general suggestions for women teachers' empowerment and recommendations for further research in the field are made.

CHAPTER 9

Concluding Comments and Opening Up Possibilities

9.1 Summary of the Study

This study sought to investigate the working life of the KZN women teachers from the socio-cultural, historical, educational, political and economic perspectives. In particular, it sought to examine how the influences from each of these perspectives impact on the women's conditions of work and their careers. In addition, the study sought to establish the effect all of these factors have on the physical and mental health of the women teachers. The study also examined the conditions of work for the women teachers with a view to make recommendations for improvement.

In addressing the above concerns, the researcher had collected quantitative and qualitative data from a sample of 339 teachers, using the survey and interview methods. In addition, the documentary research and literature review provided important background data for the study as a whole. Considering the complexity of the topic and the unstable working conditions prevailing at the research sites, the multiple-method approach to data-gathering was appropriate for the study (Wallis cited in Giddens, 1993).

The data gathered through the documentary research, the literature review and Survey I were utilised to construct the questionnaire (Appendix E) used in Survey II. The data yielded by Survey II were subjected to detailed analysis and interpretation utilising a feminist theoretical framework which views working women (teachers) as the most exploited of the workers. However, some gaps and ambiguities in the data emerged from the analysis. These gaps and ambiguities provided a context for the interviews.

All the data gathered through the three approaches were then subjected to rigorous analysis and interpretation using the process of crystallization. Cross-references and comparisons of the three sets of data provided a 'deepened' understanding on the complex subject of women teachers' work and lives that triangulation does not allow (Richard, 1998).

9.2. Findings and Conclusions

The analysis of the documentary, survey and interview data provided the following findings and conclusions.

The introductory chapter outlined the need and the context for the study from the socio-cultural, educational, political, economic and psychological perspectives. The theoretical and methodological approaches to the research were briefly discussed, the key concepts and questions were stated and a summary of the findings was presented. The summary revealed that the women teachers were historically underqualified, overworked and underpaid, that their working life and family life needed to be researched and improved.

It was established in chapter two that the education of the KZN females was curtailed largely due to the parents' attitude and the neglect of the State from 1845 to about 1910. The pioneers of education for the girl child in KZN were the Church Missions. The State discharged its obligation by subsidising the Missions and other private providers of education. State sponsored primary education was introduced in the 1870s and secondary education between 1910 and 1930. Technical education was introduced in the 1800s. Much of the technical education for the Black girls centred on domestic and industrial skills to provide cheap labour for the political economy. In some communities, preparation for marriage and agricultural work were important parts of training. There was a close correlation between the patterns and trends in the girl child's education obtaining in KZN and countries such as Britain, Holland, America and India. In fact the British system was transplanted in KZN.

Chapter three revealed that historically the women teachers were lowly qualified as a result of the curtailment and non-availability of education for the large majority of the KZN females. Nursing and teaching were the best opportunities available to educated females and teaching was considered to be more compatible with marriage and childrearing. When education became politicised and formalised in the 1870's, the State's strategy was to use women teachers to deliver mass education. The rationale was that women were an available and inexpensive source of labour. The State assumed the role of training teachers in the 1950s and qualification requirements, especially for Black women, were diluted to attract recruits. White and Coloured men generally avoided teaching

because of the low pay and status. This was a major reason for the feminisation of teaching in KZN, as presently the women outnumber the men by the ratio of 64:10 (Pillay, 2002). Their larger numbers in education, their lower qualifications and lower pay and their lower status resembled the trends in Britain, America and the European countries. However, women teachers in India appeared to enjoy more respect and a higher status in comparison to their counterparts in other countries.

With the knowledge that the State was the biggest employer of women teachers, the State's treatment of the women was investigated. Some secondary sources and a large number of primary sources such as Govt Gazettes, Statutes and other Govt publications were consulted to capture the information. Chapter four presented an overview of the findings, which revealed strong White male perspectives. In the 1890s the required qualification was not spelt out; it was well defined only in the 1920s, when teacher training received some attention by the State. Historically, women teachers were treated as second rate in comparison to men in terms of salaries and other service benefits. Married women were subjected to every kind of discrimination found in statute books by the bureaucrats. The male breadwinner ideology influenced the dispensation of salaries and service benefits to them, wherein they were assumed to be partial dependents of their husbands. The definition of breadwinner was narrow as it did not embrace the condition of all categories of women teachers.

Women were compelled to resign upon marriage and re-employed on a temporary basis. Marital status disadvantaged the women in terms of tenure, pensions, housing subsidy etc. Paradoxically, they did not contribute to the UIF despite their vulnerability to unemployment. The findings from this part of the research were very important in that they provided concrete evidence of the State's discriminatory dispensation for women teachers. Elsewhere in this dissertation, but particularly in the next chapter this discrimination is reviewed from an international perspective.

Chapter five presented a small scale review of related literature to augment and supplement the data presented in chapters one, two and three. The major concerns of this chapter were male dominance and empowerment and female disempowerment. The review described patriarchy, which has ramifications for male power and female powerlessness. Then the institutions of family and marriage were discussed to point out

how males, capital and the State exploit women, both as housewives and wage workers. To further elucidate women's exploitation, division of labour, which includes the proletarianisation of women teachers, is described briefly. To conclude, the power of language in the exploitation is described in a more localised context. The review concludes with the neo-Marxist or feminist perspective that women teachers are exploited as workers. The review aided in presenting women (teachers) in their socio-cultural, political and economic settings so that parallels could be drawn with women teachers here and abroad.

Further, it provided issues to frame questions used to study the women teachers through the surveys and interviews. Moreover, it served to underpin the empirical data gathered via the surveys and interviews.

Chapter six provides a description of the research that was conducted. At the outset quantitative and qualitative data had to be gathered through the surveys and interviews to answer the critical questions. Originally, the writer's role was one of a traditional researcher but as the study progressed his role changed. He felt compelled to engage with the interviewees in the discussions of women's issues on a more intimate level, which was different from a traditional researcher's practice. Empathy for the women resulted in their speaking more freely about intimate matters such as marital status and sexuality without inhibition. Moreover, in the analysis, interpretation and reporting of the empirical data the researcher added his voice, to show empathy for the women. It is believed that the adoption of FRM enriched the empirical data.

Chapter seven presented the qualitative and quantitative data gathered through the surveys. It emerged from the surveys that the majority of the women teachers were married and 78 percent of them had children. Most of the women indicated that they handled the wifely, motherly and teaching roles competently. Allocation of work in schools depended largely on competence, qualifications and teachers' preferences but women's presence in management and leadership positions still showed imbalances. The most serious problems of the teachers were lack of job security, job satisfaction and the lack of respect from learners, parents and Officials of the KZNDEC. Apart from parity in benefits, the ability to bequeath their pension to spouses or dependents was the most empowering aspect of the new dispensation. The data presented in this chapter were too peripheral to be

used to reach conclusions on the lives of the women teachers. Therefore, some of the major themes such as marriage, family, division of work, conditions of work and service benefits were probed to gain deeper insight. Some burning issues concerning the women teachers that were either missing or not fully developed in the surveys were canvassed in face-to-face interviews with them. An overview of the major themes that emerged from these interviews were presented in chapter 8.

Chapter eight presented data which confirmed the women's sense of job insecurity, loss of status and general dissatisfaction in the teaching situation presented in chapter 7. The majority of women teachers cleaved to the idea of marriage and intimated that they enjoyed fulfilling the multiple roles demanded of married women teachers. However, childcare was singled out as a major problem. In addition, new issues and themes such as divorce, single-parenthood, teaching for embourgeoisement, childcare and empowerment through the Govt's Affirmative Action policy also emerged. The data presented in chapters two, three and four were augmented to some extent.

9.3. Discussion of the findings

The work of teachers and teaching are discussed from socio-cultural, educational, political, psychological, historical and economic perspectives.

The study found that the girl child's education was undervalued in all communities, and as a result both the parents and the State had under-invested in it. As the parents considered marriage for their daughters as inevitable, they, especially the Africans and Indians, believed that a formal education for them was unnecessary and even economically unprofitable for the natal home. Moreover, the harsh economic conditions in the Natal Colony forced the parents, even the Whites, to sacrifice the girl child's education. When the missionaries attempted to improve conditions, the State remained largely apathetic until the 1870s. Even the media, the guardian of the people, chose to remain silent on this issue (Vietzen, 1980). Few girls received secondary education before the 1930s. Victorian prudery, Indian conservativeness and African traditions affected their daughters' secondary education. Most White parents preferred to leave the secondary education of their girls to private institutions where they received a social education to function in the upper strata of Colonial society (ibid). At the same time, in some sections of the Indian

community it was slanderous to keep girls at school after they had reached puberty. Preparation for marriage, housekeeping and motherhood were the main educational menu for most girls (Vietzen, 1980; Rambiritch, 1955; Jithoo, 1975). Some African parents were averse to mission education for their children as there was a fear the they would be converted to Christianity (Meintjes, 1990).

The Apartheid State salvaged female education to some extent. The State built large schools in the dormitory suburbs where the girls were accommodated (Samuel, 1991). The State prescribed a differentiated educational menu for the historically designated race groups and allocated funds and other educational resources on a preferential scale for White children, on a lower scale for Indian and Coloured children and on the lowest scale for African children. To exacerbate matters, there was no evidence of education ever being entirely free or compulsory for the African child. This dispensation had negative spin-offs for Black women, especially the Africans. This study has found that about 73 percent of the African women were teaching in 2000 with only a Gr12 academic qualification. Paradoxically, the Indian women appeared to be biggest beneficiaries of Apartheid education because only 38 percent of them were in this category, compared to 61 percent Whites and 67 percent Coloureds.

Historically, the State was the biggest employer of women teachers in most countries (Peterson, 1971, Lewenhak, 1992, Sharma & Sharma, 1995). Therefore, it is argued that Apartheid education was largely responsible for the feminisation of teaching in KZN. When education was politicised in the 1870s, the availability of women teachers presented a serious problem to the State. Of course, before the intervention of the State, the parents had hired quack teachers and governesses to teach their children. The quack teachers, the majority of whom were 'drifters' or itinerant teachers taught for short periods and moved off. The 'drifters' were teachers who usually needed a place to rest and taught for boarding and lodging. These types of teachers could hardly be expected to be satisfactory service providers. With the politicisation of education the problem of teacher shortage was exacerbated. The State had to find women teachers to teach the girls as the British White and Indian parents objected to male teachers teaching their daughters (Vietzen, 1980; Rambiritch, 1955). Single-sex schools were not an issue with Afrikaner parents (Vietzen, 1998) and there was no evidence of it being one with the African parents. When importation of foreign women teachers did not satisfy the demand, local females were

trained as teachers. This meant that secondary education had to be expanded so that more and better teachers could be forthcoming (MacMillan, 1958). Even the pupil-teacher system was adopted in many of the State and mission schools. In its efforts to provide mass education the State used women teachers because they commanded lower salaries and they were readily available. Most of them were trained for and taught in the primary schools where the school population was concentrated. To lure the Black women to the lower primary section the State reserved the teaching and promotion posts for women. For example in African lower primary schools the posts of principals were reserved for women. Between 1953 and 1994 women teachers, especially Blacks, were trained and employed by the State in large numbers (Pandor, 1994).

The study found that the majority of the women were trained to teach general learning areas in pre-primary and primary grades whereas males were trained to impart specialised knowledge and skills in the secondary phases. The differential training and qualification commanded differential remuneration and different status. Women's shorter training period had an economic also. It was felt that a long training period would tantamount to wastage as most women would leave the profession upon marriage. Historically, women were lowly qualified and consequently commanded lower salaries in the tradition of the Human Capital Theory. The basic argument is that workers with minimal stocks of human capital have low individual productivity and therefore receive low salaries, and experience high job turnover that is commensurate with their capital investment. More skilled and experienced labour, on the other hand, are the beneficiaries of higher wages and stability in employment (Bowles et al, 1983; Mincer et al, 1980; Blau et al, 1976). This theory was used by Verwoerd when he argued in 1953 that women were more suited the younger ones and that the employment of women teachers would result in savings in funds for the State (Hartshorne, 1992).

The investigation found that the state was largely successful in luring the women into teaching because teaching and nursing were the only professions open to females in earlier times. Most women became teachers because they found it the cheapest way of becoming professionals.

The majority of women chose teaching because it paid relatively higher salaries and it gave easy access to middle class status, especially to Black women. Moreover, teaching

proved to be the most compatible work with motherhood and wifhood. Furthermore, the State did not have the funds to pay teachers very high salaries, so it opted to employ more women teachers because they commanded a lower salary than men. Women's salaries and other service benefits were calculated from the point of view of male breadwinners, and not according to the equal work-equal pay principle until 1990's. Beechey (1977) argues from the Marxian notion of an Industrial Reserve Army, that married women may be paid less and be easily dismissed because they are partially supported by their husbands' income. This dependent relationship with their husbands is what differentiates married women from other wage labourers, and which gives rise to women's particular and distinctive position in the labour market (Beechey, 1977).

Historically, Black female education received lower State funding and Black women teachers were paid lower salaries than White women until the 1980's. These discriminatory practices resembled the feminist theory of the Triple Oppression of Black Women - that of gender, class and race (Carby, 1982; Benham, 1997). The teachers who felt the full impact of the discrimination were the African women because they received lower benefits than their Indian and Coloured counterparts as well. Consistent with the triple oppression theory the Black women teachers were paid less than White men, Black men, White, Coloured and Indian women.

In contradiction to the feminisation of teaching the State used the breadwinner ideology to dismiss women who got married and they could be re-employed them on a temporary basis until the 1990s. The State's expedient was that married women could be easily dismissed when posts became redundant and re-employed when teachers were needed, resembling Beechey's (1977) Industrial Reserve Army thesis. The fact that the women could be dismissed in lean times caused insecurity for them and instability in the profession (Mentor, 1953, 35(5): 11). Carby's (1982) expose of the triple oppression theory is relevant here because the State exercised the rule concerning the dismissal of married African women upon marriage very stringently on the one hand while it was granting permanent status to married White women teachers on the other (Mentor, 1960,42(1); BEJ, 58,4(2)). This study had found that presently the women, in spite of holding permanent posts, were very insecure because of the State's R&R policies which seek to make teaching posts redundant on a year-by-year basis.

It emerged from the study that the strongest cultural influence on women teachers was exerted by patriarchy. Male dominance and female subservience, and sexual division of labour hinge on patriarchy (Sharpe, 1976; Allen *et al*, 1984). All forms of religious and legal marriages and division of work were underpinned by patriarchy (Walker, 1990). Patriarchy extends to and influences the hierarchy at schools, where men play roles of leaders, managers and decision makers and the women the followers, service-providers and instruction-implementers (Lessing, 1994).

Traditionally, women avoided applying for promotion posts believing it to be the prerogative of men to do so. Being socialised into such behaviour they had placed psychological barriers between themselves and opportunities (Shayi, 1996)). However, it emerged from the study that the women were included in the important male dominated areas but they were still concentrated in teaching the lower classes in schools and largely under-represented in management positions in spite of affirmative action. This appeared to be a spill-over from previous practice where the State deliberately discriminated against women teachers using the breadwinner ideology. But, in addition to the external barrier imposed by the State, there was strong evidence the women themselves impose internal barriers on themselves in not applying for promotion to management positions. The 'fear of success - fear of failure' complex is a major factor (Sharpe, 1976; Shayi, 1996; Africa, 1997). The women seemed to lack the self confidence and assertiveness to enter and succeed in the male domain. If the women teachers entered and succeeded they would have faced ostracism because they were deviant (different); and if they had failed, their image would have been dented as they would have been mocked. So the safest way for the women teachers was to remain on the feminine side of the invisible barrier (*ibid*). Women teachers from all cultures were aware of patriarchy and sexual division of labour in the home and school, which places a bigger burden on them. Moreover, they performed multiple roles of mother, wife and teacher. Despite this awareness, the women perceived marriage as a necessary part of their life without which life would be incomplete. In some cultures marriage was compulsory for the females and in others it was almost inevitable. . This appears to stem from women's socialisation in the tradition of Chodorow (1978) in her 'double identification' theory that with women certain characteristics related to identity formation are transmitted from generation to generation without modification. It emerged from the study that married women teachers accepted their multiple roles as a challenge, that they fulfilled these roles and that they regarded this fulfilment as an

achievement. This denial contradicts feminist literature which informs this study that marriage is the biggest barrier to women teachers' career advancement and professionalism. From a methodological perspective, this contradiction also served to vindicate the appropriateness of feminist methodology in general and the generative grounded research theory in particular to do feminist research. This approach helped to add other perspectives to feminist practice, otherwise, this denial would not have come to light. It is believed that women who denied that marriage is an impediment to their profession were feminists but not radical feminists.

The study has viewed the problems of women teachers from a feminist perspective and what has emerged is that patriarchy controls the destinies of most of the women teachers. It is patriarchy that empowers males and devalues females to second rate citizenship. Whatever the home and society decide for the individual woman teacher the State carries it to its 'logical' conclusions. The treatment of women teachers was full of ironies and paradoxes. Why men and women teacher who had the same education and training and performed the same jobs received different pay still needs to be answered logically. The breadwinner ideology had irreconcilable flaws and yet it survived. According to this ideology, married women received reduced benefits except salaries because they were partially supported by their husbands. But why single men received better salaries and service benefits have never been explained. In this regime, it was paradoxical that married men got promotion because they had a family to support but married women were denied promotion because they had a family to care for. It was also discriminatory that the male teachers were given paid leave for military service where they killed lives and at the time women were penalised by being given unpaid maternity leave to bring new lives into the world. The fact that the married women's services were needed temporarily for State expedient was extremely illogical from an education perspective since it was a wastage of the women's training, experience and expertise especially in view of the preference shown by the Scottish and some European systems for these qualities in married women (Peterson, 1971). In SA, Verwoerd declared in 1953 that women were more suitable to teach the young ones in primary schools because they possessed the motherly instinct, but he persistently retired women teachers when they got married.

The new regime has addressed some of the burning issues of women teachers but much remains to be resolved. Most of them are institutionalised discriminatory practices which

cannot be eradicated in the short term.

9.4 Possibilities for Change

There was undeniable evidence emerging from the study that the State has empowered women teachers through the Affirmative Action Policies since 1994. However, it also emerged in the study that the KZN women teachers are still dissatisfied with their status as teachers. All the women claimed that their professional status was very low while some thought that all teachers (men and women) suffered the loss of status but their status in the present climate was still second rate compared to men's status. All of this means that the concerns of women teachers need further research.

9.4.1 Possibilities for Empowerment

There was a call for work stability to be restored as a matter of urgency. The protracted delays in implementing the State's R&R policies were causing insecurity, stress and frustration among the women teachers. One short term solution could be to decrease the class sizes so that excess teachers could be absorbed into the system. Reduction in class sizes would also lessen the workload and stress levels of the women teachers at the poorly resourced schools where additional teachers could not be employed.

In addition, there was a call for a safe work environment at schools. Although sexual harassment did not surface as a serious issue, some women intimated that it was there and that it went largely unreported. But, a significant number of women were more concerned about robbery with aggravating circumstances at schools. As a large number of KZN schools were subjected to robberies since 1994, the KZNDEC and the SGB's are urged to invest more in security at schools, so that the women teachers could work in safety, psychologically at least.

To get some teachers to recommit themselves to education the State is urged to invest more in education. There was a call for better material and human resources to be channelled to historically disadvantaged schools. It emerged in the study that some historically African secondary schools still do not have science laboratories. So, there was a case for the budget for education to be increased. It was argued by the women, and the

writer agrees, that it would be a better investment than the arms procurement, since it would improve the working conditions and the facilities for them.

The increase in the budget is essential for the improvement of women teachers' salaries and service benefits. The salaries of teachers were regarded as pitifully low for teaching to be regarded as a profession. If the State intends to raise the status of teaching in line with other professions, the teachers' demands need serious consideration. Other measures that could be implemented to restore dignity to women teachers are: that the additional salary notches awarded for improved qualification be reinstated; that the KZNDEC accord the teachers respect that is generally accorded to other professionals; measures for constructive learner discipline need to be introduced.

Women need to be promoted to the upper management positions where they are grossly under represented considering their majority in the teaching profession (Shayi, 1996). Although the affirmative action policy requires the SGBs to enforce the supercession clause when women are short-listed for promotion, it is reported that most of these bodies are selecting men instead. It is recommended that the Officials of the KZNDEC take appropriate steps to circumvent this practice. One solution would be that the KZNDEC itself undertakes the promotion procedure.

Pension benefits for women teachers need to be improved. Long serving women teachers would be disadvantaged when pension benefits are calculated upon retirement as a result of their lower contributions to the GSPF until 1996. Measures need to be taken to equalise the benefits for women in this category in line with the men. Moreover, long serving women teachers who utilised their accumulated vacation leave for accouchement need their leave credits to be re-instated in line with the new dispensation so that they are paid the leave gratuity when they retire. There is precedence for this. Women teachers in France who had borne and reared children were awarded an additional year of service in respect of each child when they retired (Mentor, 1956, 38(2): 30). This would have meant a bigger pension for the women. Anecdotal evidence is that South African Whites were given tax relief in the Apartheid regime to have additional children. Therefore, this suggestion is not unreasonable in our context.

There is a need for retirement age for women teachers who are burnt out to be reduced.. It

is believed that women are more prone suffer burn-out, high levels of stress and ill-health because of the multiple roles they fulfil (Lewenhak, 1992). To boost their pensions, a special gratuity could be paid to women who had brought up children of their own or adopted children. Or, they could be awarded one year of additional service in respect of each child as it was done in France in the 1950s (Mentor, 1956, 38(2): 30). Another possibility is the awarding of 5 years of additional service to all women in this category as it is done for teachers who retire prematurely on medical grounds.

Moreover, the women teachers' state of health needs the attention of the KZNDEC as many of them are suffering from stress, frustration, diabetes, high blood pressure etc. The unstable work environment is worsening the women's condition. The KZNDEC could get mobile clinics to visit schools to check on women teachers' health or it could establish a school health service for this purpose.

Many women in the study called for childcare facilities to be provided. To lessen the strain and stress on the teachers who are mothers of babies, the KZNDEC needs to establish childcare units at schools so that these mother can do their work properly with the assurance that their babies are well cared for. There is an urgent need for these facilities because of the increase in divorce, single -parent household and the decrease in the number of extended families. Another solution could be to employ married women teachers on a shift basis as it is done in India (Sharma & Sharma, 1995). 'Flexitime' work for women with children and family obligations is an international trend (Figes, 1993). It has its positive spin-offs such as employment for more women teachers, benefits to the family by freeing the women for part of the day, and team teaching.

9.4.2 Areas for Further Research

As this is a baseline study of KZN women teachers, it is believed that there is a real need for further research on the education of and issues related to women teachers in KZN in particular and South Africa in general. Although the women teachers were studied from a number of perspectives, these, it is believed, are not by any means exhaustive.

Firstly, female education in KZN needs more indepth study. It emerged in the study that the missionaries made the most significant contribution to female education since the 1830s

to the present day in KZN. In addition, they were the pioneers of teacher training here. This study could do no more than present an overview. What is needed is an indepth study of this important aspect of KZN education with special reference to females. It was also discovered that there is a huge gap in research on the history of female education in KZN, especially from a Coloured perspective. Although there was a dearth in historical information on the girl child's education in all historically designated race groups, there was practically nothing available on the KZN Coloured girl child's education. This gap needs to be bridged. Media reports and anecdotal accounts revealed that most of the rural African adult women were illiterate. More intensive research needs to be directed at this area with the aim of introducing more effective basic adult education for them. Uneducated mothers pose a serious problem to the education of their daughters as they are unable to discuss their children's school work and offer assistance and guidance. A basic education for the rural women would assist in solving this problem to some extent.

In conjunction with the training of KZN women teachers, the conditions of their service need to be researched to gain indepth knowledge. What was presented was an overview to fit in the broader picture of the women teachers' lives. What has emerged is that, historically, the women teachers had received lower salaries and benefits because of their lower levels of education. Then, married women were disadvantaged as a consequence of the breadwinner ideology. Apart from this information, a study of Govt documents revealed little from the perspective of women. Research needs to be directed to this problem with an aim of exposing the State's attitude to women teachers in the past in this regard, especially the women teachers' conditions of service. Special attention needs to be given to the married women as much of the institutionalised oppression against them does not meet the common eye.

Research needs to focus specifically on women teachers as workers and professionals.

Lewenhak (1992) asserts that the women make the most contribution to education if consideration is given to the home training they give to their children, their greater presence in primary school teaching and their increasing inputs in secondary and tertiary education. Despite their contribution to education, their work was marginalised, undervalued and under-remunerated. Moreover, the teaching profession, it is claimed, has low status because it has become feminised (ibid). This attitude stems from the position that untrained women teachers are employed to teach when there is a serious shortage of

teachers. From a professional perspective, teaching is the only profession where untrained personnel are used to do work professionals ought to do. Although the State is addressing this aspect through SACE, more research needs to be done on the professionalisation of women teachers from the academic perspective.

9.5. Concluding Remarks

Historically, teaching was regarded as a woman's job. Religious philosophies like Hinduism designate the mother as the first teacher of the child. Taking this cue, writers like Lewenhak (1992) equate motherhood to teaching. Educationists have repeatedly declared in education forums that the teaching establishments the world-over would not function without women teachers, more especially married women. And, yet historically the teaching profession has had a low status simply because it was highly feminised. It is against this background that the education, status, working conditions, remuneration and recognition of the women teachers have to be challenged. From the perspective of this study, it is confirmed that the new Govt in SA has thus far addressed the class issue by equalising the earning power of all teachers, both men and women and Black and White. These changes are visible. But transformation in respect of sexism and racism in education has not taken place.

This study has challenged sexism and racism in the work of women teachers although it has not provided any definitive answers to the problems which are of a complex nature. It nevertheless exposes the historical discriminatory practices and makes recommendations for women teachers' empowerment. It is a pioneering study and it is hoped that further research in the field would be undertaken with new visions and new feminist theoretical perspectives.

DEFINITIONS OF SOME TERMINOLOGY

1. Black and African

These terms have become problematic. Today, most assume that the term 'Black' includes Indians and Coloureds. In this thesis the term 'Black' is used to represent Africans, Indians and Coloureds and the term 'African' refers to the Black people who were referred to during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as 'Natives' or 'Bantu'.

2. Lobola

It is the bride-price paid by the prospective son-in-law to an African father for his daughter's hand in marriage. Lobola consisted of ten or more cattle. The payment of lobola is deemed to marriage or social contract between the parties.

3. Polygamy

It is form of marriage in which a person may two or more spouses simultaneously. (Giddens, 1992:760)

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. Higher Education

This term had changed its meaning according to the circumstances obtaining in different periods in the history of education. For example, between 1845 and 1875, it referred to schooling beyond Grade 6, which was the upper limit for most Natal children. This concept changed as the literacy levels rose. In the 1920's when 'secondary' schools were opened, it came to mean post-primary education (Grade 9 to 12). Today, it generally refers post-secondary education colleges of education, technikons, universities etc.

2. Ladies' Academies.

In Colonial Natal, as in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, higher education for European girls was provided by agencies other than the NCG schools. One group of such agencies were the ladies' academies, which provided a kind of post-primary education for girls until 1877. The ladies' academies trained the young women in social skills. As opposed to convent education, academy education was frivolous and meretricious (Peterson, 1971:151-152). In the absence of resources (both material and human), the NCG had to rely on these agencies to provide education for the middle class girls. The NCG discharged its responsibilities by subsidising these private initiatives.

3. Governesses

Between 1845 and 1877, the NCG did not establish large schools for the girls. Even if public schooling was available, the middle and upper class Whites shunned them. Therefore a large of the White girls had to receive education under the domestic system. The wealthy Whites hired celibate women teachers from England and Scotland to their daughters at home as governesses. These governesses were contracted to the families for periods of three to five years. The contract package generally consisted of a salary, free board and lodge and annual leave. In England, prior to 1843, governesses received training at the ladies academies but with the creation of the Governesses Benevolent Institution in London, their training became more formal and thereby their status was enhanced. Their training attained more or less university level when classes were started at Queen's College to train governesses. (Peterson, 1971:156-157).

4. Private Schools

Private schools are normally community schools or missions' schools (BEJ, August, 1973, 19(6)). In Natal these schools had sprung up outside the Govt system. Private schools had flourished and succeeded in Natal more than the other provinces because of the thoroughly English influence (Malherbe, 1925:212). Malherbe (1925:212) explains that as the population in Natal became more diverse and there was an influx of wealth and culture, private individuals and religious communities had to take the initiative to provide an education, which the public system failed to do. Therefore, in some instances private schools were denominational and in others mainly exclusive for the rich (e.g. Hilton, Epworth, Wykeham, Uplands etc.). The denominational schools provided the bulk of the education for the Black population, especially the Africans between 1837 and 1953.

The African and Indian communities also initiated private schools. This was a self-help scheme started by these communities when the NCG either was unable or neglected to provide education for their children, chiefly in the remote areas. The 'Night Schools' and 'Vernacular Schools' are some examples of the private (community) schools. These schools were not initially registered and therefore the parents had to provide the funding (NTJ, 1934 13 (2); Samuel, 29 November 1991).

5. The Farm Schools

White farm schools were distributed throughout Natal and Zululand. In 1889, there were 13 such schools and in 1893, this number increased to 69 (Behr, 1971:132). The normal enrolment was from one to three pupils but there provision for expansion. It was possible for the farm schools to qualify for conversion into Govt-aided schools and under certain circumstances to qualify for full Govt school status (Nuttall, 1949:67). In 1889, to improve the educational provision subsidies were granted in the following conditions: per capita grants; pupils had to live more than 8 km from the nearest Govt or Govt-aided school; these schools to follow laid down syllabuses (Behr, 1971:132). In 1949, about 65percent of the teachers at farm schools were the mothers of the pupils (Nuttall, 1949:67).

On the other hand, African farm schools were found on the farms of the Whites where big scale farming takes places. The African farm workers want their children to receive an education the children of the town or other areas do. In 1970, there were 3000 African farm schools in White areas (BEJ, 1970,16(7)).

6. The Finishing Schools

'Finishing schools were to women what Professor Henry Higgins meant to Eliza Dolittle' (New Woman, December 1997). The role of these schools was to turn women into 'real ladies'. It is a form of 'higher education', which was designed to transform young women who had completed, primary or received some secondary education into refined social beings. Finishing schools provided a social as opposed to the cultural education provided in the primary schools. The education acquired was personality change rather the acquisition of technical skills. The social skills taught were personal care, home care, the art of conversing, and other social graces. Usually the wealthy people sent their daughters to these schools, as these were private schools and out of reach of the lower class (Vietzen, 1973).

7. Seclusion and the Purdah System

It was the social tradition for many centuries, particularly among the upper classes of Northern India, that society for young girls and women be limited to the company of their own sex. They were not allowed to mix freely with males and the women were generally cut off from all knowledge of the outside world. Young girls were withdrawn from school at puberty. These females were kept in their zenanas. Furthermore, inter-caste marriages were not allowed (Joshi & Shukla, 1995:200). Purdah is a veil worn by women, especially the Muslims, so that their faces are not exposed to the view of males. The only males who were allowed their faces were the close relatives such as husbands, fathers and brothers. The practice of seclusion and the purdah system are essentially Muslim tradition.

APPENDIX A

160 Belvedere Drive
Belvedere
Tongaat
4400

13 October 1998

The Honourable Minister : Dr V.T Zulu
c/o The Regional Director : Dr G.K.Nair
North Durban Region
The KZN Dept of Education and Culture
Private Bag X54323
Durban
4000

Sir

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION STUDIES

I am presently researching the topic : A critical study of social, cultural and educational influences on the working conditions and careers of a group of women teachers in KwaZulu -Natal.

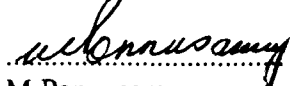
To conclude this project successfully I need to study a selection of women teachers employed at the KZN schools controlled by your department and the department's archival material. I hereby apply for permission to access the above target areas.

In support of my application I wish to supply the following information:

1. I have registered this topic at the University of Durban - Westville.(photocopy of letter attached)
2. Gender and education has to-date been under-researched in KZN, in fact South Africa as a whole.
3. The data will be gathered from the women teachers in the form of the questionnaire and interviews. I hereby undertake to conduct the data gathering exercise strictly outside teaching time.
4. had served as a teacher in this department from 1966 to 1997.(Persal No:10917977)

I would be very grateful if your good offices would grant me permission to conduct my research.

Sincerely



M.Ponnusamy

APPENDIX B

ROVINCE OF
AZULU-NATAL

ISIFUNDAZWE
SAKWAZULU - NATAL

PROVINSIE
KWAZULU-NATAL

PARTMENT OF EDUCATION
AND CULTURE

UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO
NAMASIKO

DEPARTMENT VAN
ONDERWYS EN KULTUUR

DRESS: TRURO HOUSE
KHELI: 17 VICTORIA
RES: EMBANKMENT
ESPLANADE
DURBAN

PRIVATE BAG: X54323
ISIKHWAMA SEPOSI: DURBAN
PRIVAATSAK: 4000

TELEPHONE: (031)
UCINGO: 3606911
TELEFOON :

FAX : (031)3374261

QUIRIES:
IBUZO :
VRAE :

REFERENCE:
INKOMBA : S16/2/2/10
VERWYSING:

DATE :
USUKU: 28 October 1998
DATUM:

M Ponnusamy
0 Belvedere Drive
Belvedere
Durban
4000

DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION STUDIES

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 13 October 1998 the contents of which have been noted.

In regard to your request to access the Department's archival material, I wish to advise that I am unable to assist you as this office is not in possession of any such material. However, insofar as it concerns the gathering of data from women teachers, it is suggested that you approach the relevant Governing Bodies/School Management for the necessary permission.

Yours faithfully


REGIONAL CHIEF DIRECTOR
DURBAN

APPENDIX C

160 Belvedere Drive
Belvedere
TONGAAT
4400

Reference : M.Ponnusamy
Telephone: (0322) 21207 or (032) 9441207

....., 1999

The Chairperson
The School Governing Body
Through The Principal

Dear Sir/Madam

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH : DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

I am presently researching the topic : 'A Critical Study of the Working Conditions and Careers of a Group of Women Teachers in KwaZulu-Natal'. I have registered this topic at the University of Durban-Westville (Student No.9707436).

To conclude this research successfully I need to study a group of women teachers at selected schools. For this purpose I, hereby, apply to your good offices for permission to access your school.

In support of my application I am prepared to give you the following undertakings:

1. That the women teachers will participate at their own free will.
2. That the information sought will be gathered through the Questionnaire and Interviews.
3. That all information gathered will be used STRICTLY for the study and no other purpose.
4. That all research will be conducted STRICTLY outside teaching time.
5. That all of the above undertakings will be made known to the teachers when selection is done.

I look forward to your assistance. As gender issues are hotly debated in the reconstruction process of South Africa, I have the confidence that your teachers would have much to contribute to this study.

Thanking you for your kind attention,

Sincerely


M.PONNUSAMY

APPENDIX D

160 Belvedere Drive
Belvedere
Tongaat
4400

8 August 2000

Dear Respondent

Thank you for participating in this study.

Part of my investigation centres on how the KZN women teachers are experiencing 'Gender Equity' in the New South Africa. This short questionnaire is devised to glean from you some of the burning issues affecting you as teachers. So, feel free to write down your concerns. This information will be treated with utmost confidentiality and used for study purposes only. Your input is valuable.

Sincerely



M. Ponnusamy

QUESTIONS

Write as much as you like, preferably in point form, on each question.

1. What was good about the teaching profession in the Old South Africa?
2. What was bad about the teaching profession in the Old South Africa?
3. In what ways do you feel empowered in the New South Africa?
4. In what ways do you feel disempowered in the New South Africa?
5. What changes are taking place with regard to women teachers in KZN?
6. In what ways can conditions be improved for women teachers in KZN?

APPENDIX E

Research Questionnaire to a Group of KZN Women Teachers

BACKGROUND

Although the Constitution guarantees and caters for gender equity, it appears that equity is more in print and not so much in practice, especially in education. The focus of the study is to see what the conditions were like in the past, what they are like now and what they are likely to be in the future. This study, thus, seeks to measure the extent to which gender equity has been achieved in respect of KZN women teachers' careers, the conditions under which they work, and their service benefits. Therefore, it is envisaged, that suggestions for women teachers' empowerment and recommendations for further research would be made.

GENERAL ORIENTATION

It was decided that one way of collecting information is to conduct a survey using a Questionnaire. A selection of about 400 women teachers of all race groups working in KZN primary and secondary schools would be studied. The Questionnaire comprises a biography, work history and an opinion survey, based on items derived from a pilot study conducted with women educators in KZN.

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

A1 PERSONAL DETAILS

1. To which age group do you belong?

25 years and under	1	45 -54	4
26-34	2	55-59	5
35-44	3	60 and over	6

2. To which population group do you belong?

African	1	White	4
Indian	2	Other (Specify)	5
Coloured	3		

3. What are your qualifications?

- 3.1 Academic (e.g. Matric, B. A.) 3.2 Professional (e.g. P.E.D., H.E.D.)
-

4. Current Studies

4.1 Are you currently enrolled for a higher degree/diploma? YES 1 NO 2

4.2 If yes, what degree or diploma are you registered for?

4.3 Are you registered at a university or college of education?

4.4 If no, do you intend to register for a higher degree/diploma?

Why? _____

5. What is your marital status?

Single (never married)	1	Married	5
Divorced	2	Living with partner	6
Widowed	3	Other (specify)	7
Separated	4		

6. Do you have any children? YES 1 NO 2

6.1 If yes, how many children do you have? Complete the following table

	5 yrs and under	6 -12	13 - 18	Over 18
No of Children				

7. How many other dependants do you have? _____

8. To which religion do you belong?

Hinduism	1	Christianity	5
Buddhism	2	Zionism	6
Islam	3	Other (specify)	7
Judaism	4		

9. For how many years are you teaching? _____

A2 EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

1. At what type of school are you employed? (E.g. Lower primary, Primary with JP classes)

2. In which phase do you teach mainly?

3. What is your rank at the present school? (E.g. Level 1 Educator, HOD)

4. What is the nature of your employment?

Permanent	1	Contract (+1 year)	5
Temporary	2	Other (specify)	6
Part-time	3		
Locum tenens	4		

5. Was your career interrupted? YES NO

If yes, give the reason(s) for the interruption(s).

6. What is the gender of your principal? Male Female

7. What is the gender of your deputy principal? Male Female

8. How many HODs, in terms of gender, are there in your school?

No of Males

No of Females

B. OPINION SURVEY

FOR QUESTIONS 1-2 PLACE TICKS IN THE BLOCKS THAT APPLY.

1. You became a teacher because

- 1.1 You thought that domestic work, motherhood and teaching are closely related.
- 1.2 There were no other opportunities open to you.
- 1.3 You thought teaching was a secure, well-paid job.
- 1.4 Your parents found it the cheapest way of making you a professional.
- 1.5 Your parents chose teaching because it would give the family social status.
- 1.6 Other. (Please explain) _____

2. What is the attitude of the principal and staff of your school towards a pregnant woman teacher?

- 2.1 The principal allocates her a lighter workload.
- 2.2 They treat her with the same sympathy they accord an accident victim.
- 2.3 They feel irritable about being allocated part of her work.
- 2.4 They regard her pregnancy not as an illness but a natural part of life.
- 2.5 The Principal could place her on the transfer list
- 2.6 Other (Please explain). _____

USE THE RANK ORDER IN THE GRID TO ANSWER QUESTION 3.

High level	1
Medium level	2
Low level	3
Zero level	4

3. At what level are the women teachers at your school involved in the following positions?

- 3.1 Decision making.
- 3.2 Leadership
- 3.3 Management
- 3.4 Teaching of Mathematics and Science
- 3.5 Teaching the lower grades

USE THE RANK ORDER IN THE GRID TO ANSWER QUESTIONS 4-8.

To a large extent	1
To some extent	2
To a small extent	3
Not at all	4
Unsure	5

4. To what extent has your professional status improved or diminished by the following factors?

- 4.1 No motivation to undertake further studies.
- 4.2 No recognition from principal, parents and officials of your worth.
- 4.3 You earn the same salary as your male counterpart.
- 4.4 You get little respect from learners, parents and officials.
- 4.5 You get little satisfaction from your job.
- 4.6 Other (Specify) _____

5. To what extent do the following factors make teaching difficult and unsatisfying for you?

- 5.1 Student indiscipline and their negative attitude to work.
- 5.2 Teaching methods are largely prescribed.
- 5.3 The workload due to large classes etc. is too much.
- 5.4 Poor examination results.
- 5.5 You do not teach the subjects you like.
- 5.6 Other (Specify) _____

6. Say to what extent you feel insecure in your job due to the following factors.

- 6.1 The Dept's retrenchment and redeployment policies.
- 6.2 The Dept changes its policies and directives too frequently.
- 6.3 It is difficult for temporary teachers to get permanent jobs.
- 6.4 You could be transferred far away from home next year.
- 6.5 The threat of service benefits being reduced.
- 6.6 Other (Specify) _____

7. To what extent do the following changes empower you?

- 7.1 Service benefits for males and females are now the same.
- 7.2 Affirmative action makes it easy for you to get promotion.
- 7.3 You can take unfair labour practices to court for redress.
- 7.4 You now contribute the same as a male to the pension fund.
- 7.5 You could now leave pension benefits to your husband or dependents.
- 7.6 Other (Specify) _____

8. To what extent do the following factors stress out women teachers?

- 8.1 Multi-role factor: wife, mother, housekeeper, teacher, etc.
- 8.2 Negative male attitude to women's professional work.
- 8.3 Teaching very large multi-cultural, multi-lingual classes.
- 8.4 Their accountability for learners' poor results.
- 8.5 Disrespect from learners, male colleagues, parents and officials.
- 8.6 Other (Specify) _____

9. USE THE KEY BELOW TO COMPLETE THE GRID FOR QUESTION 9. PLACE A TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BLOCKS.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Strongly disagree	4
Unsure	5

STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5
9.1 Most women teachers now refuse to relinquish their careers / wifehood /motherhood and have thus provoked a phenomenal cultural change.					
9.2 The availability of abortion, contraceptives and family planning helps women teachers to practise their profession more freely.					
9.3 The majority of men teachers have not really accepted women teachers as their equals at schools.					
9.4 When women become principals, deputy principals, etc., most of them tend to mimic their male counterparts and oppress other women.					
9.5 In the employment or the promotion of women teachers it makes good sense to give preference to single women.					
9.6 Whenever there are excess teachers, the schools are likely to place the married women teachers on the retrenchment or redeployment lists.					

10. Do you receive a State housing subsidy? YES NO

If not, why? _____

11. Do you think that you will be financially secure in old age? YES NO

Please explain _____

12. Does your principal allocate classes and duties according to the gender of teachers?

YES NO

Please explain your principal's actions _____

13. Does marriage interfere with your profession as teacher? YES NO

Please _____ explain

14. What changes would you want to happen to improve the service conditions and benefits for KZN women teachers?

APPENDIX F

Interview Schedule

1. Status of the Teaching Profession

- How did you like teaching before 1994? What are the most striking changes you find after 1994?
- Teaching was generally regarded as a profession with some kind of status. Many parents wanted their children to grow up to be teachers. Do you think this is still valid today? Or has this perception of the profession been diminished?

2. Marriage and Teaching as a Career

- I know of some senior women teachers who did not get married, have no family, totally committed to their work. Do you feel that their choice in doing this was correct?
- On the other hand, we also see many women teachers who are married and have raised families. Do you feel this choice affects their work in anyway?

3. Women Teachers' Multi-roles

- Many women teachers have expressed the idea that they are capable of maintaining the three roles of teacher, spouse and raising a family. Do you feel that this is a fair statement or do you have any reservations?

4. Attitude to Further Studies

- In many professions such as nursing, people generally study to improve their qualifications for purposes of promotion or to improve their salary scale. If given the opportunity would you study to improve your teaching skills to become a better teacher, to apply for promotion or get a better salary?

5. Maternity Leave

- Do you know your privileges about maternity leave.? What are the rules governing maternity leave? Do you feel that the regulations are all right? If not what changes would like to make?

6. Job Security

- Did you become a teacher because it was a well-paid secure job? Nowadays many teachers feel insecure in their jobs. Many are facing the R & R (Retrenchment & Redeployment). Is the Government justified in employing the R & R?
- If you were placed on such a list what would be your options?
- R & R appears to be a serious problem facing teachers today. Do you have any alternate methods to solve this problem?

7. Interruption in Service

- I have discovered that although most of the African women teachers have children, very few have interrupted service. Do you feel that these women had their children before entering the profession?
- On the other hand, most White women have children but they have long interruptions in their service. Do you feel that these women generally resign after marriage and re-enter the profession only after the last child goes to school? Or do you feel there are other reasons for the interruptions? Can you suggest the reasons?

8. Relationship between Age and Number Years of Service

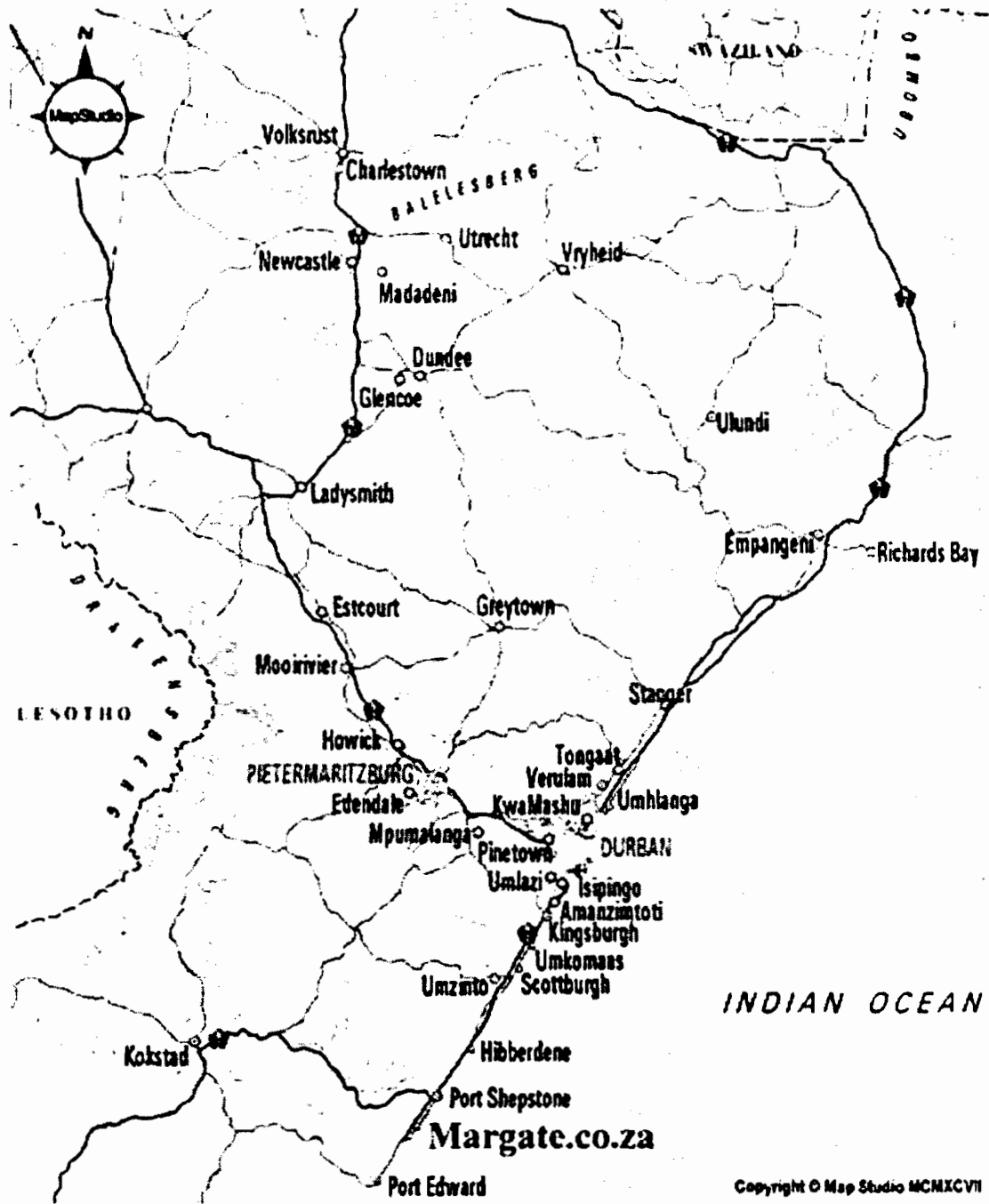
- I have discovered that most African women teachers are older than the women in the other race groups and yet have more or less the same number of years of service. It appears that these women entered the profession later than the women in the other race groups. Can you suggest reasons for this?

9. Do you belong to a teacher Union or Association? What is your reason for joining or not joining?

10. What changes would you want for women teachers in KZN?

APPENDIX G

Research Sites



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